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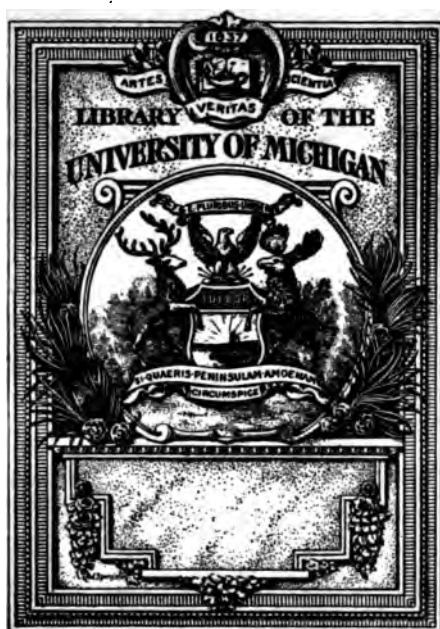
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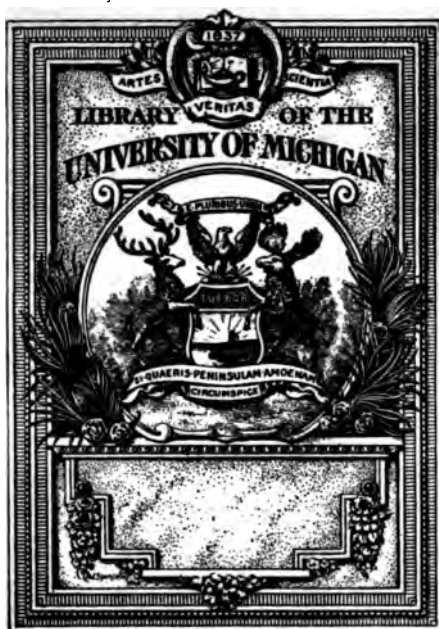
THE HILL OF THE GRACES

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THROUGH TURKISH ARABIA.

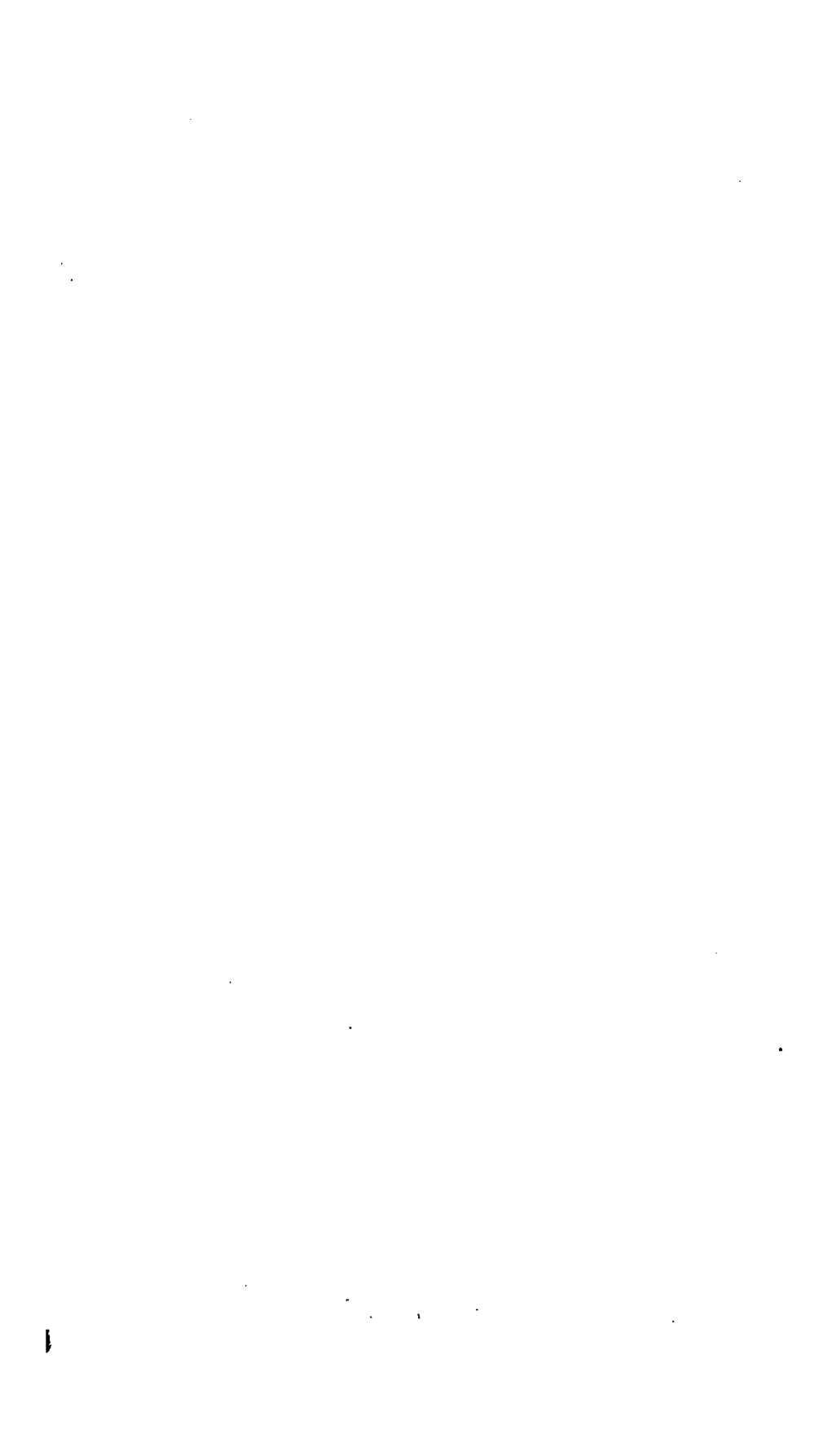
A JOURNEY FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN
TO BOMBAY, BY THE EUPHRATES AND
TIGRIS VALLEYS AND THE PERSIAN
GULF.

THE MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS
IN THE CHURCH AND CHURCHYARD OF
HAWKSHEAD, LANCASHIRE, AND IN
THE BURIAL GROUNDS OF SATTER-
THWAITE, THE BAPTISTS AT HAWKS-
HEAD HILL, AND THE QUAKERS AT
COLTHOUSE.



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THE HILL OF THE GRACES



PREFACE

THE "Hill of the Graces" is principally the result of investigations carried on in Tripoli during two visits to that country, when I was fortunate enough to enjoy the hospitality of my friend, our present Consul-General in the Pashalik. During the spring months of 1895 and 1896, I made two short journeys through the districts called Gharian, Tarhuna, and M'salata; but since, as is well known, all European travel has been prohibited in the interior since 1880, I found it possible only to effect my purpose by announcing an intention of absenting myself from the capital for a few days' sport. The real object—equally harmless—which I had in view, was to gain some information concerning the ancient megalithic ruins, which were known to exist in the hill range, and which, I venture to say, the figures and plans in the following pages will show to be far more novel in character, as they are far greater in number, than has been hitherto suspected.

At the same time, I would ask the reader to bear in mind, in reading my account of this remarkable series, that this same prohibition necessarily made my visit of a somewhat fugitive character; so that, as a rule, it was neither advisable nor possible to spend any length of time at any particular site however important or interesting: for although my excursions were attended probably with little personal risk, I was in honour bound to consider the trusty Arab tribesmen, who, by escorting a stranger—contraband so to speak—through their country, laid themselves open to reprimand if not punishment from the Turkish authorities.

Strange as it may seem, when we consider the propinquity of these remains to the coast, there does not appear to be any record up to now of an English traveller having recognized their character. Prior to the prohibition, and especially during the first half of this century, not a few exploring parties passed through these hills, but their aims being generally the exploration of the routes to Central Africa, they seldom turned aside to investigate the hill range; so that, although they must have passed ruins of the senam type, they contented themselves with marking "Ruins" in their journal.

It is to two German travellers that we owe our only knowledge on the subject. The first of these was the celebrated Dr. Heinrich Barth, who, while making a preliminary journey through

the hills, incidentally came across some seven or eight sites, of which some description is to be found in *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*.¹ Dr. Barth had, however, no time to give to special investigation of these monuments, nor was he primarily an archaeologist, so that we cannot be sufficiently grateful to him for having recorded what he saw, and having thus drawn our attention to the series.

The only other traveller who has left any record of the senams, was Dr. Edwin von Bary, who afterwards died at Ghat in 1877. Like Barth, von Bary prefaced an expedition to Central Africa by an excursion in Tarhuna, and having camped on the plateau near Menshi, he visited about the same number of sites as Barth. After his death, his notes on the subject were published, in a scientific German periodical, and afterwards translated into French,² but they labour under the great disadvantage of not having been passed through the press by their author, and also of being entirely unillustrated by figures or plans except only by the reproduction of the two cuts of Barth. Consequently they are not easy to understand, although in the absence of more carefully digested matter, they form a useful

¹ 1857, Vol. I.

² "Senams et Tumuli de la Chaîne de Montagnes de la côte Tripolitaine," par le Dr. Edwin von Bary, *Revue d'Ethnographie*, Vol. II., p. 246, Paris, 1883; translated from the German *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Leipzig, Bd. VIII., 378-385.

appendix to Barth's notes. From this time archaeological exploration in the hill range of Tripoli came to an end.

Of course the matter thus brought to light attracted some attention of the learned at home ; and more than one writer on early remains has referred to the megaliths of Tripoli ; but with such scanty material to study, it could hardly be expected anything very definite could be deduced from the Tripoli ruins. Among these writers, the only one who needs notice here is Fergusson, who, in his *Rude Stone Monuments*, embodied the information of Barth, and added suggestions of his own. Coming from the pen of such a distinguished writer on architecture, his remarks well merit perusal ; but in view of the scanty material he had to draw from, they cannot claim to be in any way authoritative.

"These monuments," he writes, "are not of course alone. There must be others—probably many others—in the country, a knowledge of which might throw considerable light on our enquiries." He then refers to the tradition chronicled by Jeffrey of Monmouth, and calls attention to the points of similarity between the trilithons of Stonehenge, those of the senams, and a Roman tomb of Isidorus in Syria. He adds, "Such similarity is more than sufficient to take away all improbability from Dr. Barth's suggestion that 'the traces of art, which they (the senams) display may be ascribed to Roman in-

fluence.' It also renders it nearly certain that these African trilithons were sepulchral, and adds another to the many proofs that Stonehenge was both sepulchral and post-Roman." Finally, he calls our attention to certain Indian structures of early date (from second century B.C.), and notably to the Sanchi gateways, and a Buddhist tomb of wood.

The reader must judge from the chapters devoted to these monuments, whether there is evidence to bear out these suggestions or not.

The other parts of the volume are of a different character. The chapter on the town of Tripoli gives only an account of the place as it exists to-day, and of the life of the streets, as seen by one who resided in its heart for two months. The plan, however, should be mentioned; for, as far as I know, it is the only one which exists. It is the result of nearly all my spare time while living in Tripoli, and may be relied upon for general accuracy. Nevertheless it should be remembered that the policy of the Turkish authorities in Tripoli is of a peculiar character, and no such thing as a survey carried out with instruments would be allowed. This plan consequently is entirely the result of pacing, checked by prismatic compass bearings from the roof of the British Consulate. All the chief measurements, and many of those less important, have however been paced several times, so that the result for a paced survey is probably as accurate as is possible.

With regard to the chapter on Lebda and its ruins, I fear that it will be found in some ways rather of the guide book order; but after my visit, I found that so little had ever been printed in the way of an actual description of the ruins, that I was emboldened to incorporate much more of my notes than I had anticipated would be acceptable. For the same reason my plan is reproduced; for it appears that no plan of Lebda has ever been published, although one seems to have been made by Admiral Smyth and handed to the Beecheys, who did not, however, insert it in their work.

In conclusion, I must not forget to render a tribute of grateful thanks to the many who have helped me in one way or another, either with their hospitality, or with learning or otherwise. And first to my friend Mr. T. S. Jago, our Consul-General, to whom and to Mrs. Jago my debt is one that cannot easily be paid. Also to Mr. A. Dickson, our Vice-Consul in Tripoli, who has always placed his store of local knowledge of the capital at my disposal. To Professor W. F. Petrie for many highly valued suggestions, and to Dr. Vasallo, the Librarian of the public library at Malta, for most courteously aiding me in every way while working among the volumes under his care.

Especially also am I indebted to Mr. J. Scott Keltie for many hints, and to Mr. Ravenstein, who has so skilfully and carefully plotted my map

which first appeared in the *Geographical Journal*. And to the Royal Geographical Society itself which these gentlemen represent, for allowing me the use of blocks made for their journal from my own photographs. I owe thanks also to the proprietors of *Black and White*, the *Antiquary*, and to the Scottish Geographical Society for similar favours; and I am indebted to Sir Lambert Playfair for kindly directing my notice to certain works bearing on this part of Africa which probably I should have overlooked.

I cannot forget also the kindness of my friend Mr. J. Allen Brown, F.G.S., who, when I first went to Tripoli, searched out for me references which I was not in a position to obtain for myself. And lastly and not least, I remember with gratitude a host of friends in Tripoli itself, both European and African, who entered into my plans for "takin' notes" in such a way that all obstacles vanished from my path as if by magic.

One other point may be mentioned, the difficult one of the orthography of the Arabic names. These have been as carefully as possible spelt according to the code published by the Royal Geographical Society. In printing the many names which are prefaced by the Arabic article *El-*, it has been considered best to preserve the proper spelling of the article in all those cases where the sound is altered by its being followed by a name commencing with one of the *solar*

letters—the various forms of t, d, th, r, s, sh, and n. This, though not in general accordance with English writers, is of course correct according to Arabic literature. El-Nejm is so written though pronounced En-Nejm. In the same way El-Shuaud preserves the grammatical form in manuscript though spoken it is Esh-Shuaud.

I should, perhaps, state that all the illustrations in this work, whether photographic, sketches, or plans are, with one exception, my own work. The camera used was of quarter plate size, carrying films instead of plates, a very handy form of instrument when working among a semi-barbarous people, ignorant and jealous of European scientific appliances.

H. S. COWPER.

HAWKSHEAD, LANCASHIRE,
May, 1897.

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THE HILL OF THE GRACES

SECTION I.

THE TOWN OF TRIPOLI.

AS we were seated one day at dinner on board a Mediterranean steamer which was to arrive at Malta the following morning, the conversation fell upon the destinations of the various passengers. My right hand neighbour was the first officer of the ship, while the passenger on my left was a young Englishman who had yachted from England to Algiers, and there, wearied by the monotony of the voyage, had taken his passage by steamer to Malta, leaving his yacht to follow.

Now, when it became known that I was bound for Tripoli in Barbary, a curious fact transpired ; for I found that the chief officer learned for the first time that Tripoli was not a French possession, while the yachtsman, militia officer, and public schoolsman heard for the first time of its existence.

The intent of this anecdote is to show how very little the country, of which this book in

part treats, is talked about or thought of, at the present day, even among those who are engaged in the trade of the Mediterranean, or who seek their pleasure upon its blue waves. I trust, therefore, that my reader will pardon me if I suggest that, should he feel in any way hazy concerning the "lie of the land," he will turn now to his map of Africa, which will show that Tripoli and Barka together, both Turkish, and formerly one Pashalik, although now divided, occupy more than one third of the southern shore of the Mediterranean, and have approximately the same extent of coast line in that sea as Tunis and Algeria combined.

In this chapter, however, it is only proposed to introduce the reader to the "Medina" or capital, and to gain a first view of the city I will ask him to step for a few minutes with me on to the broad roof of the British Consulate, my home for many happy weeks.

Coming from the shaded court of the Consulate, the glare of the white roof is so intense that for a few seconds it is not easy to see anything: wherever we look is a snowy expanse of flat-topped houses,¹ studded with half-a-dozen slender minarets, and one big ugly dome of a Christian church. Away beyond, a fringe of palms and burning sand. But it is not to point out the buildings nor to extol the landscape that we

¹ The Arab historian, El-Tiggiani, says that in the 14th century it was called the "White City."

have come here, but to get an idea of the geography of the site, which will tell us the why and wherefore of the existence of Tripoli.

Now, if we look eastward, we see a wide sweep of sunlit bay, beyond which projects a palm-grown headland; while to the west, beyond the white roofs of the western part of the city, we can follow with the eye a yellow sandy shore trending away south-west, and washed by the bluest waves that were ever seen. Away west, beyond the blue, we can trace a low line of desert coast, looming slightly with mirage.

As we thus see the sea to east and west, we are on a headland; but immediately north-west of where we are, the town is built on higher ground and the sea is invisible. The lighthouse in the Burj el-Trab, however, marks the centre of this side. North-east we catch a glimpse of the Mendrik Fort, sometimes called the Spanish Fort, on a bold headland protecting the harbour.

Although this is really an island, for boats can pass by a waterway between it and the mainland, it was probably at one time, together with the reef of rocks on the north-west, high and dry, and connected with the town; and no doubt also it was this headland, and the protection it afforded, which dictated the site of the first foundation. But of this more anon.

There is, however, one other feature which we must notice. This is the Gusr or Kasr, the citadel ever since the city fell into the hands of

the Muslims. It stands at the south-east corner of the city, and towers high over its surroundings, being built apparently on a mass of rock projecting from the sea.¹

The position of the pre-Arab town was, like that of the present one, upon this promontory; but we have the evidence of Leo Africanus that by tradition it was originally placed further north. This has been disputed to some degree by modern writers, on the ground that outside the reef of rocks on the north-west, we get into deep water.² The tradition, however, does not, I imagine, mean that the distance further north was great: and it may well be that these rocks were at one time joined to the mainland and built upon. There is also some evidence that the town extended further west along the shore; and, indeed, if it were not so, ancient Oea must have been a very small place, for the following

¹ It is generally acknowledged that modern Tripoli is Oea or Oeat, one of the cities of the Regio Tripolitana. Some ascribe to it a Phoenician origin, and others, basing their theory on philological grounds, believe it Libyan. The Beecheys collating Pliny, Pomponius Mela, and Strabo, conclude that it was not founded earlier than the first century. Mannert, however, fixed Oea three or four miles east of Tripoli, an allocation which, however, found no favour elsewhere.

² Beechey, Capt. F. W. and H. W., and Rae (*The Country of the Moors*): and in this year (1896) by Dr. Robert Brown, in his excellent edition of *Leo Africanus*, published for the Hakluyt Society. All interested in Tripoli should read Leo's account of the city.

account of its capture by the Arabs shows that the hill on which the castle now stands was clear of the town walls to the south.

The Arab historians, Ibn Abd el-Hakim and El-Leith ibn Saad, narrate that the Arab general, Amr ibn el-Asi, camped on the summit of a hill to the east of Tripoli, and besieged it in the year 23 A.H. From what followed it is evident that this hill was the rock on which the Kasr now stands, and that at that date it was outside the city. We are told that after a month's fruitless siege, a hunting party of eight left the camp and went west. "Returning home, it being very hot, they followed the sea-beach. In those days the sea came up to the extremity of the city walls, and between the sea and the city there were no walls: so that the Greek ships entered the port so far as to touch the houses. The Arabs perceived that the sea in ebbing near the anchorage had left a space by which an entrance into the city could be effected. They entered to the cry of 'Allahu Akbar.' The Greeks had no other refuge but their ships, and Amr, who saw naked swords gleaming in the town, advanced (from the hill) and entered the town. The Greeks could only fly in their lightest ships, and Amr put the city to the sack."

This interesting account is probably in the main correct, but we may conclude that the hunting party was really an organized surprise.

Amr was on the summit of the Kasr rock, the only hill of any sort on the east, and thence he would, so to speak, look right into that part of the city, now Homet Bab el-Bahr, which is also high. Amr's post was evidently clear of the city walls, which must have commenced from the sea somewhere between the castle and the custom house, and passing west through the centre of the modern town, would join the sea some little distance further west.¹

The harbour, which, however, could never have been good, must have been anchorage under the lee of the Mendrik² headland.

The Arabs were a race of soldiers, not of sailors, and to them a strong castle was of equal or greater importance than a port. Accordingly they fortified the hill which had been so useful to them, and this became the nucleus of a Muslim town, which was no doubt soon joined to the

¹ Foundations of ancient structures are numerous on the west of the town near the sea. Near the N.W. bastion is a line of sandy cliff on the shore, and in this there are numerous culverts and passages, some about eight feet high and four wide. They are arched, built of rubble run together, and faced with cement. Whenever the cliff falls new fragments are exposed. They were evidently originally built subterranean, and had probably something to do with the water supply of Roman Oea.

² There may have been another anchorage west of modern Tripoli, near where the Jewish cemetery is, as in bad weather Greek sponge boats shelter there now; but between here and the Mendrik Fort it is doubtful if there could ever have been anchorage for sailing ships.

more ancient settlement. So, round it, cluster to this day the chief mosque, bazaars, and Muslim quarters. Ibn Haukal, indeed, in his description of Africa says, "I noted that many of the bazaars, which were in past times in the suburbs, had been transported into the interior of the town," which probably means that the Arab bazaars, which grew up round the citadel, had been, by his time, (360 A.H. 980 A.D.), included in newly-built walls. This is evidence that the town grew southwards.

*The modern town of Tripoli (Trablus el-Gharb, as it is called, to distinguish it from Tripoli in Syria, or Trablus esh-Sham) is built in a pentagonal form, that side facing the sea to the north-east being much the longest, and containing the two projections of the Kasr and the Mendrik Fort. Its total length, north and south, is 1130 paced yards, and its width 780.¹

Tripoli is entirely surrounded with walls, which are, as is usual in a Turkish town, in a dilapidated condition.² It has four gates, and exclusive of the Mendrik Fort and Kasr, six large bastions and four smaller ones. Beginning on the north-east, we have the Bab el-Bahr, or sea gate, close

¹ By the author's survey. The outline on the Admiralty chart scales about 1070 yards for same length.

² The Tripoli walls and some of the forts are attributed to Dragut the Corsair; but as Leo Africanus, a contemporary, describes the walls as not very strong, the Beecheys suggest with probability that he saw them before Dragut rebuilt them.

to which is a small jetty with the custom-house and fish market. Over this gate there is an Arabic date (1022 A.H.), showing that it was built or rebuilt about 290 years ago; and just below this, in the pavement, is a piece of brass, of which it is said that all who, leaving Tripoli, unwittingly step upon it shall infallibly return.

A busy scene it is outside this gate, especially when a steamer is in. Black porters straining under great barrels, bales of merchandise, or jangling loads of esparto bands; Turkish officials idling and smoking on benches, and Greek sailors gloomily pulling at their hubble bubbles. A funny mixture of industry and *dolce far niente*, but, as always in the east, accompanied by an everlasting clatter of tongues.

Next is the small square building with the fish market, and here you may very often see strange-looking fish. Red mullets are perhaps the commonest, but there are all sorts—soles, cuttle fish, and dog fish—and varieties quite unfamiliar, except to the naturalist.

Between here, and the north-east bastion and commencement of the Mendrik headland, there is a line of coffee-houses and other buildings, built against the wall on the left, while on the shore are generally a good many Greek sponge boats, high and dry for repairs. There is also a pyramid of white pottery, amongst which are vessels of enormous size, which are made at and imported from the island of Jerba.

To see the north-west wall of the city it is best to take a boat, for it is not permitted to pass along the shore. The boatman will either row round the Mendrik Fort altogether, or pass through a water-way dividing it. This will bring you out between two moles, apparently of old Arab work, and amongst the rocks which form the reef on this side.

The bastion at the north-east angle on this side can now be seen to be in a ruinous condition. It is called the Spanish bastion, and its present state is due to its having been destroyed by gunpowder. The central fort with the lighthouse is constructed on the site of an ancient bastion, and is now called the Burj el-Trab, or "earth" fort. The north-west bastion is also a fort.

Nothing more beautiful can be imagined than the sea and rocks on this side of the town. The water is limpid and clear, and in many parts the rock, covered with beautiful marine growths, can be seen at a great depth. The variety of colouring in this submarine fairyland when lit by the bright sunlight is amazing, and, as your sailor pilots your boat through rocks to the Burj bu-Lelah, you seem to hear in the sucking and gurgling of waves around, the whispers and sighs of Tritons and water nymphs.

On the shore beneath this wall and further west, there is often a merry crowd of Jewish

women washing clothes and other things. In fact, before the Passover, matting and household goods are brought out for a thorough cleansing. The costume of the Tripoline Jewesses is so bright and pretty, that these noisy groups are very picturesque.

The next bastion is a pentagonal one in the centre of the west side, covering the Bab el-Jedid, or "new gate." In most eastern cities there is a gate thus named; but in this case there must always have been a gate hereabout, at any rate ever since the town assumed its present form. I think, however, that the gate has been reconstructed at some period a little west of its older site; for close to the east side of the bastion (where there is a tennis court belonging to the small English colony) there is a set back on the wall face, and other evidence that a gate has been built up here.

From the north-west bastion to the Bab el-Jedid there is outside the wall a depression which evidently represents an ancient ditch; but from here round the south-west and south-east sides there is no ditch, although the ground is often in winter and spring covered with stagnant and frog-filled pools. There existed formerly, however, a ditch all round, and the main gate by the castle is Bab el-Khandik,¹ or the "Moat gate." El Tiggiani describes how at the commencement of the 14th century the inhabitants commenced

¹ Sometimes it is also called Bab el-Menshieh.

a moat which was to surround the city. The first attempt was from the south-east angle, but the work was found full of difficulties, from the blowing sand, which filled up the excavation.¹

At this south-east corner there are two gates side by side, the chief one next to the castle being the Bab el-Khandik above mentioned. That adjoining it on the west is double, with a small bazaar about sixty paces long between the inner and outer gates. This is called Fum el-Bab ("the mouth of the gate"), and the chief article of sale is rope.

Those who are acquainted with other Arab cities, and especially those of the Maghreb or west, will be astonished to see how many of the streets are fairly straight. Indeed there is only one part, the Harahs or Jewish quarters, where they become a regular maze. This fact was noticed by El-Tiggiani, who compared the plan of the town to a chess-board.² The most important of these thoroughfares are the Shara

¹ This seems to show that at this period the sandy desert came close to the city without the gardens which now intervene. Edrisi, describing Tripoli in 1154 A.D., writes: "Before the present epoch all its neighbourhood was well covered with . . . figs, olives, dates, and all sorts of fruit; but the Arabs destroyed this prosperity, . . . the plantations were devastated, and the water-courses stopped up." In another chapter I shall have occasion to refer to the effect of the Arab conquest on the face of the country.

² "I never saw streets cleaner, larger, or better laid out, in fact they have the appearance of a chess-board" (El-Tiggiani).

Kahwat Daman;¹ a straight street passing from the Bab el-Jedid to the sea, and the centre part of which is called the Suk el-Yahud el-Hararah;²



FIG. 1.—STREET SCENE WITH MINARET OF THE MOSQUE OF MAHMUD.

the Shara Funduk el-Rih;³ the Suk el-Turk; and another street running parallel to it on the

¹ From a coffee-house founded by one Daman.

² The market of the Jewish silk merchants.

³ The street of the hospice of the winds.

west, which is sometimes called Shara Erbaat Saat, because at the point it intersects the Suk el-Yahud el-Hararah there are four ancient columns built into the angles.

continued The town is divided into four quarters called "Homets." These are respectively termed Homet Bab el-Bahr, Homet Beladieh, Homet Kushet el-Safar, and Homet Gharian. The first is the north-western part of the town, embracing the Shara Kahwat Daman, and is chiefly occupied by Jews, Maltese, and Levantines. Part of the Harah el-Kebir, or large Jewish quarter, is in this Homet, and also the British Consulate, the ancient Roman Arch (Makhzin el-Rakam),¹ the Gurgeh Mosque, and the mosque of Sidi Salem.

The Homet Beladieh occupies the east side of the city from the Bab el-Bahr downwards. It is the business part of the city, containing all the chief suks, baths, the mosques of Hamad Basha, Shaib el-Ain, Dragut, Kharuba, el-Drush, and el-Naga; the office of the town council or "beladieh," the Italian consulate, the Piazza or "el-Usaieh," and the medrasseh of Osman Basha.

West of this comes the Homet Kushet el-Safar, chiefly inhabited by Muslims, destitute of

¹ Makhzin el-Rakam,—the quadrifontal arch. As this interesting building is the only thing in Tripoli which has had justice done to it by writers, I spare my readers the repetition of a description here. Accounts of it and its inscription will be found in Playfair's *Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce*; Edw. Rae's *Country of the Moors*; Lyon's *Travels in Northern Africa*; Tully's *Narrative of a Residence in Tripoli*, etc., etc.

public buildings, and quiet, clean, and orderly ; while the Homet Gharian occupies the south side of the town, stretching from the Harah el-Kebir down to the southernmost bastion. The part of this near the Bab el-Jedid is the Harah Saghir or small Jewish quarter.

Tripoli, though lacking entirely a fashionable European quarter like Algiers, Cairo, and one may perhaps say Tunis, has nevertheless a large non-Muslim element, which is composed chiefly of Jews and Maltese.¹

¹ The following is the Government estimate of *male adults* in the district and city of Tripoli, 1894. It includes, I believe, not only the large suburb south-east of the town, but also the thickly inhabited "Menshieh":

Muslims,	-	-	-	-	-	14,100
Jews,	-	-	-	-	-	3,350
Foreigners,	.	-	-	-	-	3,300
						<hr/>
						20,750

The probable estimate of total population of Tripoli and the "Menshieh" is between 70,000 and 80,000. The Jews, to whom reference will be made in their proper place, estimate their numbers as 8000 to 10,000. Out of the total of 70,000, or 80,000, it is not probable that the ancient walled city contains anything like one half. Signor Brichetti-Robecchi, in a recent article in the *Memoire della Societa della Geographica Italiana* (Vol. vi. Pt. i.) gives 30,000 to 35,000 souls, of which 22,000 are Muslims, 8000 Jews, 5000 Christians, 600 Italians, and 40 English and French. This estimate is probably too high.

THE TRIPOLINE ARABS.

Although you may walk in the Homet Bab el-Bahr, and parts of the Homet Gharian, and see far more Jews or Levantines than Arabs, or, to speak more accurately, Tripoline Muslims, they really form by far the most important element in the town. And this is in many ways not to be regretted, for although they perhaps lack the industry of either Jews, Maltese, or Greeks, they are personally so much more dignified and respectable, and their streets are so infinitely cleaner and less malodorous, that the pedestrian naturally chooses his road through the Arab quarters in preference to those of the Jews or Maltese.¹

The indigenous Tripolines are probably not less mixed than the Muslim inhabitants of other Arab speaking cities. As the inhabitants of Cairo are as much Egyptians as Arabs, and the Shamis (Damascenes), Bagdadis, and Halebis (Aleppines) all show to a greater or less degree the type of the original races which the Arab conquerors impressed into the service of Mohammed, so in the white-robed "believers" of Trablus el-Gharb do we see as frequently faces which tell of Berber stock as the type which points to descent from the stock of the Apostle of Mecca.

¹ Carts and donkeys belonging to the "Beladieh," or town council, go round the town every day, and remove dust and dirt.

Besides this, the town life is continually recruited from the tribes of the hill range, and from Fezzan, and also a racial mixture has followed its long intercourse with the slave emporiums of the Sudan. Consequently we find not only every grade of type, but every imaginable shade of colour. But if we take the fairer types alone, we cannot fail to be struck with two distinct varieties. First, there is the type, perhaps the most common, in which the face is square and broad, the nose short and well shaped, and the eyes sometimes turned slightly up. This, the great Berber type, is generally accompanied by a square thick-set figure, a rather European than Oriental manner, and a fair degree of industry. The other type is the Arab, aquiline, refined, and haughty. The limbs are set in a finer mould, and the hands and feet are more delicate. Amongst people of this type we find less practical energy, but more religious fanaticism, though perhaps not more real religion. The complexion in either may be anything from white to dusky according to the occupation of the individual, for in neither should there be negro blood, although cases where this is combined are of course everywhere.

Besides these two types, which may be said both properly to belong to Tripoli, we may notice a variety of others. Omitting the intermediate shades of colouring brought about by the system of polygamy, we find plenty of true negroes, whose presence is partly due to the long

existing slave traffic, and in quite modern days to the development of the esparto trade, in which many blacks are employed. These people are the happiest, merriest, and most light-hearted of all the Tripolines: laughing, dancing, and



FIG. 2.—NEGRO TYPES, TRIPOLI.

singing through life, in a strange contrast to the grave demeanour of their fairer Muslim brethren. Then come the Fezzanis, Tuariks, and Tunisians, the first the most numerous of the three, and the latter recognizable by their short-hooded burnuses and turbans rather than by any special type. The Tuariks are not so often seen, except when a few individuals make their appearance for purposes of trade, or prior to their going on the Haj. When, however, these

haughty sons of the desert are seen, they are easy to recognize, for their white-veiled features, their almost defiant swagger, and the long wand, carried generally like a drum-major's staff, at once stamp the Tuarik, so that it is difficult to pass them in the street without turning to watch with some degree of admiration the dignified carriage and commanding figure of these magnificent if somewhat ferocious savages.

The Tripoli costume worn by all Muslims of local birth, whether country or town, is the barracan or kholi. This remarkable garment is unseen in the East, except between Tunis and Egypt, and has a great interest of its own. It consists of a single white robe wound dexterously round the body, leaving the right arm free, and so arranged that the end can be adjusted over the head as a hood, as, indeed, it is generally seen. Worn as it is over a great part of the ancient Roman province of Africa, there can be no doubt that in the barracan we have still preserved, the ancient Roman toga, which the Muslim conquerors probably found the costume of the country and adopted. Graceful and eminently artistic as it is, nothing could, however, be less practical as an everyday garment for all classes, and many a time have I been amused at the difficulties of my guides in mounting their horses when travelling in the hills. An Arab in a barracan cannot possibly mount without aid, or from a mounting block, and even

then, in consequence of the high peaks of the Moorish saddles, and the way the rider's legs are inextricably folded in the robe, it is generally a hundred yards before he is settled in the saddle. There are, of course, many varieties of the barracan. That of the poorest people is of coarse,



FIG. 3.—A SHEIKH OF TARHUNA.

browny-white texture, or sometimes of a dark brown. The sort worn by the ordinary people is, however, of white wool; while the dandies and well-to-do wear them of beautiful striped silk. Although the garment never changes, the fashion in stripes does from year to year.

In cold weather a burnus of the Tunis type, with a hood, is placed over the barracan, and some of these woven with stripes and very thick are extremely warm and quite waterproof.

There is one other thing uncommon in Tripoli costume, and that is the fashion in tarbushes. In Tunis and Egypt it is generally worn close-fitting and small, but here it is large and loose, covering the tips of the ears, and often so full in the crown that it is turned back a little, like a night-cap. Turbans are hardly ever worn, but this is less noticeable as the barracan is usually drawn over the head.

It is not within the scope of this work, nor is it indeed in the power of the writer, to enter deeply into Tripolitan Islam. The principal mosques are ten in number, but the architectural pretensions of all are but little.¹ The few

¹ This may be said indeed of all the town which, although characteristic, will be a disappointment to many who know the glories of Cairo. The names of the ten mosques are :

1. Jamah Hamad Basha Karamanli, near the castle. This is the great mosque, built, as the name implies, by the Karamanli Pasha of that name. It may possibly be identical with the Mesjid al-Ashera or Mesgid al-Muadin mentioned by El-Tiggiani as near the castle at the beginning of the 14th century ; in which case it is a refoundation.

2. Jamah Shaib el-Ain in the Suk el-Turk. The founder was a former wali of Tripoli.

3. Jamah Dragut Pasha, founded by the noted corsair of that name.

4. Jamah Mahmud.

5. Jamah el-Haj Mustafa Gurgeh. A modern foundation

minarets that project amidst the expanse of white flat roofs are polygonal or round, and lack both the delicate detail of the Cairene mosques, or the bright colouring which strikes the eye when one looks at the square tiled towers of Tunis or Morocco. Here and there indeed from some of the smaller "zawiehs" rise small square minarets, but they are even more featureless than the others.¹

So much has been written about the Merábut (Marabout) system of North Africa, which is quite as prevalent at Tripoli as elsewhere, that it is not necessary to describe it here. So far

by a member of a noted Tripoli family. The minaret of this mosque is the most elegant in Tripoli.

6. Jamah el-Naga. "Naga" means a female camel. Many say that this mosque, which is in the Jewish silver market, is the oldest in Tripoli.

7. Jamah el-Kharuba.

8. Medrasseh of Osman Basha. This has no minaret.

9. Jamah Sidi Salem, to which is attached the "turba" or tomb of Sidi Salem, and a Merabut college. This is near the Burj el-Trab.

10. Jamah el-Drush.

The reader may ascertain the position of all these by reference to the plan. Some description of the interiors of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 can also be found in Mr. Rae's *Country of the Moors*, 1877, chap. ix., in which, however, Shaib el-Ain is erroneously called Sheikh Bel Ain. See also Ali Bey el-Abbasi for a plan of the great mosque, and also Tully's *Narrative*.

¹The "ithn," or call to prayer, as chanted from the minarets of Tripoli, is strangely discordant. After the deep *Gregorian* air of Cairo it is most unwelcome.

has this peculiar development of religion prevailed, that it may be said that at one time Tripoli was almost ruled by these religious orders, and even yet they are distinctly a power,



FIG. 4.—MOSQUE OF EL-HAJ MUSTAFA GURGEH, TAKEN BY MOONLIGHT FROM THE ROOF OF THE BRITISH CONSULATE-GENERAL.

and in such veneration are they held that it is by no means easy for a non-Muslim to obtain much information on the subject. It appears, however, that the true merábut (for there are

innumerable counterfeits and impostors) is a member of a sort of religious guild. The members are bound, as the name implies, to the strict observance of certain religious forms; and consequently, although there are numerous exceptions, the fact of being a merábut neither means a fanatic nor an impostor nor a lunatic.¹ A merábut, indeed, may be anything as regards position in life; but even if he be but a poor fisherman or groom, the fact of his being a merábut gives him a certain standing.

The fact appears to be that the merábuts are guilds of men who follow the teaching or precept of some holy man; so that although here and there we find an individual who from some reason claims to be one on his own merits, the

¹The merábut subject is so large that it is not easy to dismiss it. Wherever you go in Tripoli you hear the name. Thus there are merábuts often to be noticed in the town who are of peculiar sanctity, only because of the eccentricities they affect. Thus one, a tall black, I often noticed in the town, and whose name is, I believe, Ali M'Shoni, was followed everywhere and pointed at with respect. Beside his eccentric garb, his walk was calculated to attract notice, for, whether from affectation or from physical infirmity, at every step he bent so low as almost to touch the ground with his chest. His behaviour is always wild and excited. Others again dress in rags and demand alms, and although they may not be properly merábuts, seem generally to meet with good treatment on account of their pretensions. On the other hand, there is an elderly black who, in his bright yellow robe and blue hood, is a well-known figure in the town, and is much respected.

majority are simply disciples or followers. Accordingly the tombs of the originators of the guilds are revered, and often by them spring up little sanctuaries or "zawiehs" which their followers frequent.¹

In some cases merábuts carry flags, and these are also flown on all the principal shrines. These flags are always tri-coloured, though what is the origin of the colours it is not easy to say. The colours and their arrangement seem to have a great variety. Thus at Sidi Salem there are two flags flying on Fridays, which are divided horizontally, one into red, green, and orange, and the other into red, yellow, and red. On the other days of the week the colours are different. A common combination is orange, white, and red, placed perpendicularly; but the variations are numerous. There is one great day in the year on which all the merábuts of Tripoli parade the city in procession, and on this day it was at

¹ The most important merábuts, or shrines, in Tripoli are the following:

In the town: Sidi Salem, Sidi Dragut, Sidi Shan es-Shan, Sidi Abd el-Wahab, Sidi Akup.

In the Menshieh: Sidi el Misri, Sidi el Said, Sidi el Maraghni, Sidi el-Shuaref, Sidi el-Bugharareh, Sidi Abdullah Shaab (near the Karamanli tombs at Shara Shat), Sidi Hamideh (at Fum el-Bab).

But to such an extent is this shrine system carried, that wherever you go you find small plastered domes, some but a few feet high, decked with flags and glazed earthenware lamps. Sometimes they are in the most ridiculous positions, as on the shore, or even on walls or roof-tops.

one time prohibited to all non-Muslims to venture into the streets, for fear of a collision; but, although this prohibition is not, I believe, now enforced, Christians and others who live on the route of the procession generally keep their houses.

Having spent two Ramadans in Tripoli, I have had some opportunity of seeing the way in which the fast is here kept; but as the observance does not greatly differ from that elsewhere, a description is hardly called for here.¹ The termination of the fast, and commencement of Beiram, is ushered in by a salute, and salutes of several guns are fired for the three days at

¹ Business in Tripoli during Ramadan (at any rate when it falls early in the year as I have seen it) is hardly so much at a standstill as I have noticed it in Bagdad and elsewhere; and a good many shops remain open. On the first day one may notice numbers of Turkish soldiers in the Suk el-Turk buying rosaries of beads. The middle night of the fast is called "Lelat el ghalat" (or ghulta), the "night of errors," because it is usual on that night for the women to walk out, and, it is whispered, cases of mistaken identity sometimes occur. Generally speaking there is little going on at night in Tripoli during Ramadan, but on this night the streets near Fum el-Bab are somewhat crowded, as many people come in from the Menshieh. The Suk el-Turk is lit up, and the coffee-houses are full of Arabs. Near the clock tower are stalls, where a brisk trade proceeds in most unsavoury-looking sweetmeats. Close here also, in the castle end of the Shara Funduk el-Rih, are small coffee-houses, where the shadow pantomime, "Kara guse," can be seen, and others where children and negroes perform the usual inelegant dances.

"fajr" (dawn), "asr" (afternoon), and "mughreb" (evening). Early on the first day a review is held in the Pianura, which is followed by a grand display of "Lab" (or "m'lab") "el brud" (powder play), in which several hundred Arabs, mostly from the country, take part, dressed in their best clothes. In this, casualties are not infrequent, as in 1896, when one man is said to have been killed and several injured. It is supposed, but with what truth I do not know (for I hardly consider it consistent with the character of the Tripoli Arabs), that this is due to personal quarrels.

This characteristic Moorish sport, as performed on horseback, has been frequently described, but it is sometimes practised on foot in the suburbs of Tripoli, and is very curious to watch. A party of fifty or sixty young Arabs will assemble in an open space for this purpose. The game, which is played by two, or sometimes by four, appears to represent a combination of a personal combat, and a joint attack on an enemy. The two performers enter the arena together, and the sport commences by their facing each other with a yell of "Ya kaffir" or "Ya kelb." At the same time the long gun is either whirled round the head or dexterously flung high into the air and caught. One then turns, and, pursued by the other, they go *scuttling* (the only word that describes their movement) down between the lines of spectators with their long guns brought

up to the shoulder, that of the first aimed at nothing, that of the follower at the back of his head. The leading man then whirls his gun round, and they both drop on their haunches with a yell, while the guns are brought down on to the neck of the antagonist. This evolution is repeated in the same direction, when they turn and come back to the place they started from, stopping in the same way at half-distance. Here both pieces are discharged anyhow, in any position, and in any direction, often right into the middle of the onlookers, the leading man generally turning to do it, but sometimes firing backwards over his shoulder. The guns are then whirled round the head like a "shillalah," and the next couple appear. Occasionally an adept, instead of following his fellow-player with his gun to the shoulder, twirls it dexterously round in his fingers as he advances.

But to return to Beiram.¹ A great difference is to be observed in the town during these three days, as all the Arabs are dressed in their best, and many bright-coloured costumes are to be seen. Ceremonial visits are paid, both among the natives and between the authorities and the representatives of foreign powers. Bands of strolling musicians, many of them negroes, parade the streets, with drums and pipes.

¹ These, the first three days of the month Shawal, constitute the Id el-Saghir; but in Tripoli they are always called by the name of Beiram.

Although Tripoline Muslims (I do not here allude, of course, to the Turks) follow fairly well the ordinance of their faith with regard to intoxicants, they are not infallible, and during Beiram the date spirit "Boha" is consumed in considerable quantities, so that it is not infrequent at this time to see an Arab in the streets intoxicated. It is, of course, rare at other seasons.

THE JEWS.

The Jews, who have already been mentioned as forming a very important part of the population of Tripoli, occupy the north-western part of the city which is called the Harah. Their own story is that originally they dwelt in the hill range in the districts of Jebel and Gharian, and that there they lived underground and had subterranean synagogues.¹ And in proof of this I was shown, at the chief synagogue in Tripoli (which they say is 230 years old, and erected on the site of one more ancient), a small marble memorial stone which had been found in Yefrin, and which they say is dated seven hundred years ago. This is the time they state they came from the hills, but I have not been able

¹ Though both in Tarhuna and Gharian there are subterranean Arab dwellings, I never heard while travelling of such being used by Jews.

to obtain any information of a more reliable nature.¹

The Harah is divided into the Harahs Kebireh and Saghir,² through which pass the main streets of Kahwat Daman, and that from Bab el-Jedid to Erbaat Saat. These two streets form main thoroughfares through the Harahs, and from them branch off a multiplicity of narrow winding alleys, built without design or order, and forming a maze in which it is not difficult to lose one's way. When I say that the two main thoroughfares above mentioned are so foul and evil smelling that no European passes them without necessity, the reader can perhaps picture the condition of the minor roads and alleys. I believe that personally I have passed several times along every street in the Harah, and I venture to say that he who can do so, without experiencing a sensation of nausea, possesses a strong stomach. Piles of rotting vegetable matter lie in pools of green slime in the very centre of the narrow unpaved tracks, while the pedestrian will often be compelled to make a daring jump over the large pools of fetid sewage which are everywhere. In wet weather this is all churned up into a foul mass, through which the blar-eyed

¹ At the same synagogue another small inscribed stone was shown me, which they stated was 930 years of age. This is said to have been found near the capital at a place called Sukhra.

² Or Harah el-Kebir and Harah el-Saghir.

Jews and lumbering Jewesses splash with as little compunction as if it was the fairest of highways. Now and then, as before the Pass-over, some attempt is made to clean up these streets, but it is needless to say that the task is practically hopeless. And in the two thoroughfares where the marketing is conducted, the sights are in some ways equally unpleasant ; for here in the mire sit the Jewish butchers, squatting on their haunches before trays of fly-covered meat, which under the circumstances is, it need hardly be said, anything but appetizing.

Yet to do justice to the Jews, there is perhaps a brighter side to look at. In business they are industrious, though of course they hammer down profits until others engaged in the trades they affect can hardly live. Then again, their houses are often fairly clean, for they cast all their filth into the highway, where it remains ; for the dust carts of the "beladie," or town council, could not penetrate many of the narrow alleys in the quarter.

The Jews of Tripoli wear a distinctive costume, of which the most characteristic feature is a white linen shirt worn outside a pair of white trousers and secured by a sash at the waist. They often wear a blue burnus, and in cold weather an ordinary white barracan. The men cannot be termed well-looking, for they are pale and sickly in aspect, and numbers of them are blind of one eye, or suffering from ophthalmia.

Among the young Jewesses, however, from the age of ten to fifteen, there are some charming types, the beauty of which is well set off by the pretty bright costumes they wear. Lithe, graceful, and dark, barefoot and bare-armed, their raven locks bound in a coloured handkerchief, and with beautiful dark eyes, it is difficult to realize that these little maidens have been reared in the pig-sty they dwell in. Yet sad, dirty little kittens they are in ordinary times, and it is only at the great Jewish feasts, when they suddenly appear washed and groomed and made resplendent with bright Syrian silks and necklaces of gold coins, that one recognizes how very pretty they are.

One cannot write a description of Tripoli without saying something about the Christians, who are, as it has been noticed, an important item in the population. And although we find among them Greeks, Italians, and even a few Syrians, the Maltese so far exceed all in numbers, that they are the only body which merit notice.¹

The Maltese inhabit principally the east part of the town, bounded north and south by the Sharas Kahwat Daman and Erbaat Saat, and west by the Harah. Within this space we also find the English, Italian, and French Consulates, the Church, and the Piazza or el-Usaieh. Of the former, the English Consulate is naturally far

¹ The Maltese are generally put at 3000, the Italians at about 1000, and other Christians at 100 or 200.

the most important, for the large Maltese population are of course all British subjects. This fine old house has always been the British Consulate, and is, in its present form, the result of a series of alterations and additions during the times of various consuls. It is said to be the largest residential building in Tripoli, and its great square court, blooming with flowers which are the daily care of the mistress of the house, has always been to me, and is indeed in reality, a true oasis in the noisy squalor of the surrounding streets.

The Maltese here are the same as the Maltese everywhere. They are industrious, frugal, religious, quarrelsome, and dirty. The women wear that strange head-dress the *Faldetta*, and are, as a rule, as unlovely as elsewhere. Numbers of Maltese have always been at Tripoli, which once belonged to the Order of St. John; and although there are many Maltese who are Tripoli born, I believe there are few who do not cherish a hope of returning to their beloved island. The Maltese bazaar may be said to be the street which runs from the British Consulate-General past the Roman arch to the Bab el-Bahr, and it competes in dirt and smells with parts of the Harah.

The Catholic church is situated opposite the end of the street which is sometimes called *Shara Hosh Cunsul el-Ingliz* (English Consulate Street), and close to the Piazza. It is now in the course

of re-erection by the Franciscan brotherhood, who have been here, it is said, for no less than three hundred years. The new edifice, which is certainly a very fine one for such a situation, is slowly progressing as funds are obtained—the chancel, which is lofty and ornate, being the only part now in use. When complete it will accommodate a large congregation.¹

The scope and intention of this chapter are such that it is not possible to enter into the history of Tripoli, except by a reference to such

¹ From the condition of the Christians in Asia Minor it is a pleasant relief to turn to Tripoli, and to find that at any rate there are quarters of the empire where our co-religionists dwell in peace and comfort, and where we can even see an important church rising in the heart of the town and dominating its surroundings. The Christians of Tripoli are absolutely free, and this church, when complete, will be perhaps the most showy, though not the most interesting, building within the walls. In fact, to show how the Christians are considered in Tripoli, it is only necessary to spend an Easter there. On this occasion the Catholics turn the town into a pandemonium by fireworks, and by firing salutes about every hour from eighteen or twenty little mortars in the Piazza. This custom, it is said, originated from firing a salute in honour of the Pasha, who used to make a ceremonial call on the Padre when he represented the temporal power of the Pope. At one time the powder for this firing used to be supplied by the government, but it is not so any longer. Yet at this day the Pasha and Turkish officials make complimentary calls on the European consuls. The question is, Where is Turkish intolerance? and would we in England allow a ghost dance of Red Indians, or a merâbut procession in one of our principal squares?

points as are connected with the development of the modern town. Those therefore who wish to follow it through its chequered existence, its periods of independence, or dependence, its brief life under the knights of St. John, and the days when it was the haunt of the Turkish corsairs, down to to-day, when it forms for a third time a portion of the Ottoman Empire, must look elsewhere.

Tripoli of to-day swarms with Turkish soldiers, and a strange-looking lot they are. Dirty, unwashed, unbrushed, their clothes hanging in rags around them, and their feet cased in worn-out slippers, they lounge about the town gate, true types of a decadent empire. Yet in spite of little or no pay, poor rations, and the ragged outfit, they seem, poor fellows, always laughing and contented, bear-fighting like great overgrown schoolboys, or sauntering hand in hand like babies among the palm groves. The Turkish soldier *may* be a human tiger when set to butcher Armenians; but wherever I have seen him, and perhaps especially in Tripoli, he is pathetic.

The Turks, however, have a good hold on Tripoli, and besides the three forts in the city there are four others outside.¹ Barracks of large

¹ Two of these are on the road to Ghirgarish, and about half an hour west of the town. Another, which is called "Burj el-Ingiliz," is near Shara Shat, and protects the west side of the bay. The last lies south-east of the town on

size exist near the Pianura, as well as a large camp, while within the walled town all available unbuilt spaces near and about the ancient walls are utilized for stores.

The headquarters of the government, and residence of the Pasha, is the ancient castle, which, as has been shown, was also the headquarters of the first Arab conqueror. A walk over this building reveals no architectural features of the least interest, though, of course, in a place of such large extent, it is impossible to say what there is.¹ There are two large courtyards, and near the battlements in one place it can be seen that the natural rock comes to the surface, evidence that it is indeed built on a natural rocky promontory of some elevation.

Of course in Tripoli everything that requires any head work is in the hands of Europeans. There are the quarantine and lazaretto, which are under a sort of international board; the lighthouse is French; there is the Eastern Telegraph Company, and although there is, of course, a Turkish post-office, the Italian one is much more important. To show the management of the Turkish post, it may be mentioned that on a

the edge of the desert, covering the road to M'salata and Tarhuna. These forts are earth, and carry about three guns each.

¹ I noticed one or two ancient fragments placed in a corner: one, a column, had a bilingual inscription, the upper part of which in Roman characters seemed to read *MERCII MINERVAI*.

mail day it was found on inquiry that the postmaster had only a stock of fifteen stamps for foreign countries, but he thought that if he sent round the bazaars he might raise a few more. His applications to Constantinople for a new stock had been repeatedly disregarded. On another occasion, when I was at the little seaport of Khoms, sixty miles to the east, the weekly mail messenger arrived; but, as no mail was distributed, we sent repeatedly to ascertain the reason. Eventually it transpired, that, when the mail bag was opened, it was found to be empty, the postmaster at Tripoli having forgotten to insert the letters. It is said that the governor of Khoms struck the postman, to whom, of course, no blame whatever could attach.

There is much to interest the visitor in Tripoli, besides what has been already mentioned; and among the things which will strike the European as strangest, are the bakers' shops. These are situated in the open street, right on to which the oven mouth opens, while the baker stands before it in a sort of pit, so that his chest is about on a level with the street. To insert and withdraw the loaves he uses a sort of shovel with an immensely long handle, which, when he draws them out, is brought a long way across the street, so that the passers-by are compelled to wait until it can be removed.

Some mention has been made of the Suk el-

Turc, the main shopping thoroughfare of Tripoli. This is a straight Turkish bazaar, where everything can be bought retail. Here and there we find shops with glass fronts; but, on the whole,



FIG. 5.—JAMAH HAMAD DASHA KARAMANLI OR THE GREAT MOSQUE.

the character of the place is Eastern, although a large proportion of the goods exposed for sale are European. Those who wish to see a more characteristic bazaar must follow this Suk till at

the south end they will find themselves in the Suk el-Rubah or covered bazaar, which surrounds the great mosque. Here, in their little square boxes, sit the Arab vendors of barracans and burnuses, and, as nothing but native goods are sold, the scene is purely oriental.

Here the barracans made in the Tripoli looms are brought by the producer, and sold by auction to the merchant. In fact, the trade is supplied here. When one of these auctions is in progress it is a busy sight, the weavers and their agents running about in the crowd with piles of barracans on their arms crying the prices last bid. "Seba u erbaun," "Erba u sitain," meaning that 47 or 64 piastres has been bidden for the goods they carry in their hand.¹

As we walk through the streets, plenty of curious sights may attract our notice. Here, attracted by a creaking noise, we peer into the open door, and see in the darkness a gaunt camel, with baskets covering his eyes, going round, round, round. He is grinding corn in a

¹The Suk is divided into two parts: Suk el-Rubah el-Jedim and el-Jedid. Besides these the following Suks are not specially indicated on the plan: Suk el-Khurdajieh or el-Baggaleh, near Fum el-Bab; Suk el-Helgha, where barracans are woven by Muslims; Suk el-Fenedikha, where womens' barracans are made. It should also be noticed that Suk el-Harir should not be confounded with Suk el-Yahud el-Hararah. At the former, barracans of silk are made; at the latter, silk of all sort, raw and otherwise, is sold. Leo Africanus says, "Weavers here are many."

primitive mill, and his blinkers prevent him shying or biting at anything, while he is so harnessed that he must go ceaselessly in a circle. As he comes round with measured tread he shaves the wall with his muzzle every time. Somehow, there is something painful in this blindfold creature working in the gloom, ceaselessly, and with a step and motion varied less than the piston of an engine. The motion of the camel is somehow more mechanical than that of any other quick thing.

Next, on the straight street leading from the castle, we meet a stately throng of about 100 barracaned Arabs. As they pass along, their faces are lit by some strange enthusiasm, and from their bronzed throats rises, in deep chorus, a resonant and awe-inspiring chant. Behind, a crowd of veiled women, who, every two or three minutes, raise that strange shrill cry which all over the east they use for great grief or joy. Behind, again, camels and carts of baggage. As they reach the mosque of the old pirate, Dragut, they pause and are addressed by their leader ; and, afterwards, this is repeated at the Bab el-Bahr. It is a party escorting their friends, who are about to embark for Mecca.

Tripoli has many beggars, but they are not troublesome to the European. Besides those who promenade the streets, there can be seen every evening, just outside the Bab el-Khandik, a line of those poor wretches by the roadside.

Some suffer from blindness, some are miserable cripples or deformities ; but others are children, who, though strong and healthy, are being trained to follow this profession. During Ramadan, 1896, it was common to see here two little things, the eldest perhaps six, and the youngest not one year, cuddling together under one ragged barracan, and sucking sweets or cracking nuts in the spare moments they rested from their little piping cry of "Ya kerim mta Allah" (Oh, ye generous in God). This is the regular formula of all Tripoli beggars.

From beggars we come to strolling musicians, which are common. The African bagpipe and drum are the regular instruments : and their sound is heard in the bye-streets continuously during the times of the various festivals. Several of these wandering musicians adopt a most eccentric garb, wearing on the head a sort of leather helmet covered with cowry shells, and surmounted by the skull and beak of some large bird. A leather mask hangs before the face, and a girdle of dogs' and jackals' bones surrounds the waist. This queer costume is completed by ankle and waist ornaments of cowry shells.

There is also, just at present, a sort of brass band epidemic in Tripoli : there being two rival bodies, the Maltese and Italian. One of these, after its institution, appeared in a gorgeous uniform, before which even the Turkish officers

looked insignificant; and, naturally and rightly, this magnificence was checked by the Pasha, and they now wear the tarbush. Although these bands are certainly fairly good, they seem out of place in Tripoli.



FIG. 6.—A STROLLING MINSTREL OF TRIPOLI.

Leaving the town by the Bab el-Khandik, we pass immediately on the right a large fountain, in the tawdry taste affected by the Turks. This was erected by the present Pasha,

and the water comes from a place called Bu-Melian in the gardens. Turning through a doorway to the right, we find ourselves in the Suk el-Khubz, or bread market. Besides the bread stalls here we find a camp of small tents or booths, where all sorts of second-hand goods and rubbish are sold. Old iron, glass bottles,



FIG. 7.—A ROAD IN THE SOUTH-EAST SUBURB.

iron tools, rat traps, rags, spinning apparatus, earthenware, almost anything in fact. Near here also may be seen Jewish blacksmiths working in the open air with very primitive patterns of bellows.

It is on this side that the town has of late years extended, and from here radiate several wide roads, in some of which are bazaars, amongst them that of the gun and slipper makers.

If, however, we turn to the left outside¹ the Bab el-Khandik, and follow the beach, we come to the wide, open space called by the Europeans the Pianura. Here takes place every Tuesday the large market, or Suk el-Thalath, of which, picturesque and interesting as it is, space forbids a description here.² It has moreover been described by other observers. Here, on the shore, a concrete sea wall has been recently constructed by the authorities to prevent the sea from encroaching, but the structure is a lamentable failure, and the sea has already broken through in more than one place. Beyond the Pianura are the esparto yards and the negro village, the public garden, barracks, and a mili-

¹ Close under the castle walls lies the skeleton of a small iron steamer. This vessel was called the Trablus el-Gharb, and plied between Tripoli and Malta. She was owned by two Muslim brothers, and, it is said, was purposely run ashore and wrecked, owing to some jealousy or dispute.

² All the Tripoli markets are thus named from the days they are held on, and they are purposely arranged not to clash. The Friday market (Suk el-Jumma) is held in an open space among the palms, about four miles from east of Tripoli. This is not so large as the Suk el-Thalath; but the day I visited it, there were perhaps 100 cattle and 30 camels, beside other stock. Camels were selling at four Napoleons. The Thursday market (Suk el-Khamis) is held between Khoms and Kam, about eighty miles from the capital. From the name of the present covered bazaar near the Castle, "Suk el-Rubah," it seems possible that at an earlier stage of the town's history there was once a Wednesday market held there.

tary camp, and beyond these again, next the shore, the district called Shara Shat,¹ where is the clean little Protestant cemetery, and the English Fort.² Here also stand two rather



FIG. 8.—TOMBS OF THE KARAMANLI FAMILY AT SHARA SHAT.

pretty little domed tombs, a striking memento of the Karamanli Pashas, part of whose history, with its bloody episodes, is so graphically told in Tully's *Narrative of a Residence in Tripoli*.

¹ The "coast road."

² In the first there rest more than one of the noted Warrington family, including Frederick Warrington, whose name among the Arabs, "Frederik," is still a household word. The fort is perhaps called the English Fort, because when the Warrington's country villa, "Hosh Frederik," was near here, the English men-of-war used to anchor as near as possible: or it may perhaps have gained its name at Sir John Narborough's visit in 1675.

APPENDIX TO SECTION I.

PLACES OF INTEREST IN THE VICINITY OF TRIPOLI.

In consequence of the position of the capital, surrounded by desert, there are but few places of interest in the vicinity of Tripoli. The places, however, worth visiting are :

1. Ghirgarish, Gheran, and Zenzur.
2. Tajura.
3. Ain Zara.
4. Majenin.

GHIRGARISH, GHERAN, AND ZENZUR.

The first of these places is a rich oasis about one hour's ride west from Tripoli. The chief interest lies in the ancient quarry close by. Here we find a large cave-like excavation, the front of which is supported by large pieces of rock, which are left for that purpose. Near the mouth of the cave a square block of rock has been left unquarried, and upon this a small Arab castlet has been built. The block of rock measures 23×17 paces, and as it is nowhere less than 12 feet high, it must have formed a strong little place. Barth mentions this place by the name of Kasr Jehalieh, which, however, is a word applied in Tripoli to all pre-Mohammedan ruins. It is generally called Kasr

Girgarish (or Ghirgarish), and the Arabs derive this word from Kerakish, who, they say, was the Arab emir who built the castlet. This derivation seems plausible.

There appears little doubt that this place is the same as that mentioned by Leo Africanus as Garell Gare, which he describes as "a certain little territorie or grange, containing caves of marvellous depth, whence they say the stones were taken wherewith olde Tripolis was built, because it is not far distant from that citie." The editor of the new Hakluyt Society's edition of *Leo Africanus* suggests that it may be the Kasr Yahilye (Jehalieh, *Barth*) above mentioned, which coincides with this theory.

Three quarters of an hour's ride further, and near the sea, are the much more extensive quarries of Gheran; and this place I would identify with the "village called Gar" by Leo Africanus, who describes it in association with Garell Gare, at the beginning of his sixth book. He says, "the village of Gar, situate upon the Mediterranean Sea and abounding with dates." Dr. Brown, in the Hakluyt edition (following Della Cella), suggests a place on the greater Syrtis; and Marmol described a ruined wall and town, by which it would seem he meant Ghirgharish; but Leo states it was subject to the chief of Tajura, and it is most probably Gheran.

At this place the excavations are of large size, and it is interesting to note the way the

harder strata of limestone has been followed below the softer, while great piers have been left to support the roof. The stone seems generally to have been removed in small irregular squarish blocks, which gives the cave interior a sort of honey-combed appearance. It is difficult to assign a date for the origin of these quarries, but it is probable that they have been used by more than one race. The Arabs still work them a little.

The oasis of Zenzur, which is of very large extent, lies about half an hour further west. Leo Africanus mentions the dates, pomegranates, and peaches of Zenzor.

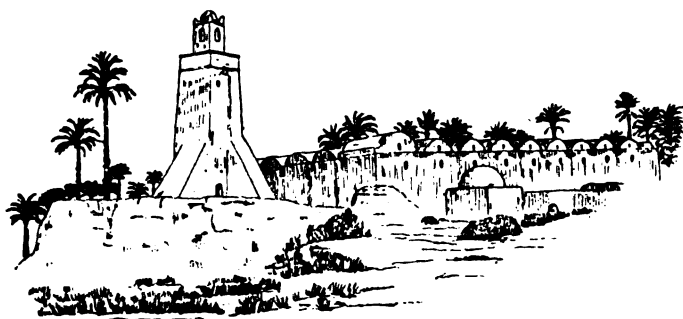


FIG. 9.—MOSQUE AT TAJURA.

TAJURA.

This is a pretty ride, two hours east of Tripoli; and the road leads through palm groves and partly cultivated plains. The mosque here is large, though very plain, and with a square

minaret unattached. There is a tradition that it was built by Christian slaves, and the work so pleased the Turks that they were liberated. Captain and Mr. Beechey, in their great work on the Tripoli coast, advanced the idea that the ancient Abrotonum was here, because Scylax states that it was two days' sail from Leptis Magna. But as Ptolemy placed that site west of Oea (Tripoli), while Pliny put it east of Taphra (or Graphara), which is generally considered to be the modern Kasr Jafara, it will be seen how difficult the question is. Abrotonum is, however, generally identified now with Zuagha, about sixty miles west of Tripoli.

Ain Zara is only an oasis, and of Majenin some mention is made in the chapters treating of Gharian.

The Ostrich Feather Trade at Tripoli. The ostrich feathers are brought by caravan from the Wadai district to Tripoli, where they are sorted by Jews. They arrive in rough bundles, and in the same dirty condition as they are taken from the birds, and, consequently, the first process they are put through is that of cleaning. To do this, they are soaped and scrubbed and then beaten out dry on the house roof or stone floor, and are then flattened by hand, so as to make the plumage project horizontally. In the packing of them the Wadai merchants are very

clever, and often load each bundle with a certain amount of sand, because they are sold by weight. In other cases, long feathers are cleverly manufactured by splitting and joining shorter ones. In these trade tricks, however, the Tripoli merchants compete with them, for, in repacking the cleaned feathers for Europe, they so arrange the sorted bundles that they appear to be all long feathers, when they are made up inside of feathers of all lengths. The European buyers, however, know this, and the prices regulate themselves. The plumes are, of course, further prepared and curled in Europe for the market. With regard to price a great deal depends on fashion, black, white, or grey alternating in proportionate value. But in Tripoli fine white plumes can be bought retail at five francs, grey ones at three francs, and the black, which are of smaller size, at two francs each.

SECTION II.

JOURNEYS IN THE HILL RANGE.

I. A RIDE IN TARHUNA AND GHARIAN, 1895.

I LEFT Tripoli on March 21, and followed a south-easterly course through the palm groves which fringe the coast, until we passed south of Tajura, where the plain is studded with lime-burning kilns (called *kushi*), the heavy black smoke from which can be seen for miles across the plain. The road then led past a small grove of palms with the tomb of Merabut Si Abd el-Kerim, and out on to a plain, where we camped.

The country between the coast and the hills is thus divided: (1) the palm groves on the coast; (2) a strip of partly cultivated plain; (3) a strip of sandy desert of varying width; (4) the lower slopes of Tarhuna, consisting of gently rising, undulating country, averaging about 550 feet above sea level; (5) the Tarhuna hills.

The following day we made an early start, and marched south-east across the desert strip. The wind was one of the first touches of the

"gibleh," which, like the "khamasin" of Egypt, blows at intervals during spring, laden with electricity and hazy with the flying dust of the desert. Here it was doubly trying, for this little patch of desert is formed of soft and shifting sand, which rises with the least wind, and skims like snow in a blizzard from every crest. Each ridge as we climbed it only exposed to view a vista of wave upon wave of glaring yellow, from the summits of which flew before the wind the choking grit; and through this for five hours we struggled, the animals snorting to keep the hot dry powder from their nostrils, and sinking knee deep at every other step in the burning sand. Here and there in the hollows is disclosed a hard surface, often covered with shreds of pottery mostly Roman and Arab, and sometimes rudely worked flints. It is evident that at such places the wind exposes the ancient level of the ground.

After passing the oasis of Neshieh, and a well called Bir el-Turki, we reached about noon the Wadi Raml, a broad watercourse running north-east through a desert of shifting sand, and at this season containing a rill of running water. At the point I struck it it is met by the Wadi Saghia coming from the hills further east.

The lower slope of Tarhuna, where I camped on the second night, is of varying character: planted in places with corn, and covered in others with scrub. Here and there are great yellow

blotches in the landscape, which are blown sand, on which nothing will grow. The Tarhuna hills rise on the south side like a wall, showing but few prominent elevations.

On the third morning I entered early by the Fum Doga, *i.e.* the mouth of Wadi Doga, or place where the valley passes from the hills to



FIG. 10.—THE WATERCOURSE OF WADI DOGA, NEAR KASR FASGHA,
LOOKING NORTH-WEST.

the plain, and the road led us up on to a beautiful plateau, green and with a good deal of cultivation. This plain varies between 600 and 800 feet above sea-level, and on either side rise hills varying from about 1000 feet at the mouth to about 1650 feet near the head of the valley, the principal ones, flanking the valley at its entrance, being Jebel Ahmar and Jebel Aref.

Through the plateau runs the watercourse—a ravine averaging about 150 feet in depth, of tortuous course and stony bed.

The chief part of the day was spent in examining and photographing the numerous ancient sites in the valley. In every direction could be seen great standing trilithons, ruined or complete, single or in rows. Lines of massive walling enclosing square areas, great altar stones, Roman capitals, cemented baths, and ruined structures were to be found on almost every hillock rising from the valley.

Night compelled me to reach Kasr Doga, at the head of the valley, by a short cut over Jebel Arva, instead of by the tortuous course of the wadi. The ascent was very steep and rough, and hard for camels. On reaching the summit, I found we were about 1600 feet above sea-level, and nearly 1000 above the valley we had left. It was, however, too dark to see but faintly the wave-like crests of the surrounding hills, and the Wadi Guman, which stretched away from our feet towards the sea, and the district called Terr'gurt. On the top we found ourselves on another plain, with fields and fenced gardens and a few figs. In some of the rougher places the air was sweet with wild thyme and other sweet-smelling plants. The descent to Kasr Doga was less steep, and we encamped under the great Roman tomb mentioned by Barth.

To the south-east of Kasr Doga, which is the

head of Wadi Doga, spreads an undulating plain of great extent, which I shall call the Tarhuna plateau. Here I spent two days, camping with the family of my guide, and examining the "Senams" or megalithic temples, the ruins of which are to be found on every point.



FIG. 11.—WADI DOGA LOOKING NORTH FROM THE TARHUNA PLATEAU.

The Tarhunis, or tribesmen of Tarhuna, appear to be a race in which the Semitic blood prevails over the Berber. I have seen no trace of negro blood among the people of these hills. They are all tent dwellers, or troglodytes, and, with the exception of the one or two points where a small Turkish garrison is maintained, there are practically no built houses in the district.¹

¹ I have only seen two, tiny huts, one in Kseia, and one in Terr'gurt.

They are nomadic, but only to a certain degree; for, although they follow the pasture, they keep within the limit of their district, and if there is plenty of grass, they return each winter to the same place. My Tarhuni guide had indeed his camp at exactly the same place on the Tarhuna plateau twenty years ago, when Von Bary visited the country, as it was in 1895. Like most pastoral Arabs they are divided into tribes, and the chief feature is the patriarchal system of living together by families.¹ Thus my guide, one of a

¹ The Tarhunis have a great objection to discussing or mentioning the tribes. The following list I obtained after much persuasion. They number 36, and should be compared with Barth's list of 19. Those starred below are to be found, though sometimes differently spelled, in Barth. They number 12. The other seven, which were not given me by my guide, may possibly have left the district. They are put at the end. It may be also noticed that the Tripolitan tribe Sumait, mentioned by Leo Africanus, does not occur.

1. *Aulad Ali (this is the great tribe). 2. Aulad Um Aref (there is Senam Aref in Doga). 3. *Marghana. 4. Muzaghwa. 5. Burkat. 6. *Megagerah (in W. Tarhuna, near Jebel Jumma). 7. Zeraghna. 8. *Idrahil. 9. Amamreh (there is Kusr Amamre S.E. of Kusabat [Barth]). 10. *Mead, or Mehadi (there is Mehal el-Mead in Terr'gurt). 11. *Ferjane (district of Ferjana). 12. *Aulad-Hamed. 13. Hamamleh (the tribe of my guide who lives sometimes at Menshi, sometimes at Wadi Ukirreh). 14. Awaseh. 15. *Rhahaimieh. 16. *Shfatra. 17. Zlas. 18. *Hamadat. 19. Amariin. 20. Bahalik. 21. Ariash. 22. Sualeh. 23. Sulala. 24. Ghanaimieh. 25. Ferjane el-Gharareh. 26. Duaiim. 27. Aulad Tarhune. 28. Arabiin. 29. *Gheraghta. 30. Talah. 31. Hajaj. 32. M'saaba (in Doga). 33. Khamudat. 34.

family of merábuts, and the head of his family, lived with his brothers and sons and their respective families all in one line of tents. These



FIG. 12.—A TARHUNI TRIBESMAN.

are, however, only their winter quarters, and in the hot weather they go into tiny huts of wattlework,

Atershan (in Guman). 35. Gherarat. 36. *Naajeh. Welad Bu-Sid. Welad Bu-M'areh. Welad Yusuf. Welad Bu-Sellem. Mata. Khwarish. Bu-Saba.

which are dotted about independently among the crops. At every encampment there are a number of ferocious dogs, which render it really dangerous for the stranger to venture from his tent at night. These animals lie round the camp, and savagely attack every one who approaches, even an inhabitant of the camp, who would certainly be badly bitten if he did not carry and use a heavy stick. The Tarhunis are handsome, tall people, and all wear the white barracan or kholi, which is common in all Tripoli. Every man carries a long flint-lock gun, without which he never moves ten yards, although it is seldom used. Pistols are sometimes worn, but the sword is not often seen.

In the camp a certain amount of order and cleanliness is always maintained. In that of my guide, a Mueddin chanted the call to prayer as regularly as is done in the town. The Tarhunis, indeed, seem punctilious as regards the forms of their faith, and many are regular observers of the hours of prayer. It was Ramadan when I was travelling, and, although the faithful are exempted from observing the fast when on a journey, nothing would induce my men to touch food between sunrise and sunset. They did not consider a fortnight's excursion in their own country a journey.

The Tarhunis, unlike many nomadic tent-dwelling Arabs, rigidly hide their women from view, and I never saw, during my ride, any

woman (except one very ancient dame) nearer than about 300 yards.

The underground houses are a few chambers dug out below the level of the field in the earth. Some are inhabited all the year round, but others are only resorted to in very hot weather.

The food of the Tarhuni is chiefly bazine and cuscus, both made of flour, the latter often very nice, and the former very nasty. Bread is but little baked, and what there is is unpalatable.

The occupation of the Tarhuni is agriculture and stock-raising. On the plain are pretty little fenced enclosures called henshirs, in which are grown barley, wheat, and a few figs. The flocks are cattle, sheep, and camels; horses are not common.¹ Trees are almost unknown, and a solitary "batum" of magnificent dimensions is known as El Khadra, "the green," and is commonly named as the only tree in Tarhuna. There are, however, some in the hills on the west near Gharian.

Of late years the demand for esparto grass (halfa) has given a new occupation to the hill-men. This grass grows wild in many parts of the hills, both in Western Tarhuna, Gharian, and further west in the district of the Jebel.

¹ Those occasionally seen are hardy animals of the small Berber stock. Safe on foot, and useful for polo ponies: similar animals are imported from different parts of Barbary to Malta and Europe for this purpose.

The grass is gathered by hand, the harvester winding each handful round a piece of tough stick and then tearing it away. Some say that this rough method is gradually extinguishing the crop; but it does not really appear that this is the case, for, if properly pulled, the grass is only drawn from the sheath, not torn by the roots.

The trade was commenced at Tripoli in 1868, and at Khoms in 1873, and although there are also funduks, or yards, at Tabia and Zliten, the greater part is carried to the first named places. The grass is carried on camels, one animal's net averaging about four cantars.¹ The price now paid at Tripoli or Khoms is only nine to eleven piastres per cantar, that is, thirty-six to forty-four piastres a camel load; whereas, when the trade was in its infancy, grass realized to the Arabs twenty-five piastres the cantar. This, I believe, is chiefly due to the competition of Jewish firms with the English, the former cutting down the profits to a minimum.

The tribesman who brings a load of esparto twenty, forty, or even more miles down to the coast, receives for it something less than eight shillings. But prior to its sale the following charges have to be paid: $1\frac{1}{4}$ piastres per cantar to government; 20 paras per net, weighing duty; 10 paras, charges of owner of funduk. He may

¹ A Tripoli cantar = 40 okes, and the oke is 2.832 lbs. avoirdupois.

clear, however, his 42 piastres, and this is how it is divided : One-third is received by the owner of the land ; one-third by the pluckers or harvesters ; one-third by the camel man for transport. In other words, they each make about half-a-crown, of which the land-owner certainly has the best of it, for he has expended no personal labour out on it, nor any capital for tillage.

There are, of course, different qualities of halfa. The first is called "El Arus," or 'the bride'; the next, "Secondo." The inferior qualities do not appear to have special names.

It is curious to observe how little Arabs care for sleep ; though this is not peculiar to Tripoli men, for I have been both amused and annoyed by the same thing among the caravan Arabs of Turkish Arabia. After travelling eight or nine hours in a broiling sun—my dinner eaten—I would retire to be ready for an early start. So to all appearance my followers ; but perhaps an hour after midnight I would be awakened by loud talking and the glare of a fire. On looking out to see the reason, I would find all four wide awake, telling stories or deep in a religious discussion ; and unless this is forbidden, which the traveller will certainly find it best to do, for the sake of sleep, it soon becomes the regular thing. The salutations used among the Arabs of these hills are very elaborate, and of considerable variety. Friends of equal standing will on meet-

ing hold each other's hands, kissing repeatedly with their faces close to the back of their hands, or they will actually embrace, kissing each other on either cheek. Where a poor man greets one of somewhat higher station he will kiss his hand, although this is often withdrawn, in which case the inferior then kisses his own hand. An inferior will also sometimes kiss the head of a superior, and on one occasion an old man was suddenly seized with a desire to confer this compliment on my guide Mohammed, who was mounted. The old fellow, before Mohammed was aware, was jumping and clawing at his head to get it within his reach, pulling, in consequence, Mohammed's tarbush off, so that it was only when Mohammed called "Mush el ras" ("Not the head") that he desisted.

All Arabs give the "Salam Aleikum" in passing, even to women and small children; but to personal friends, whether they stop to converse or not, there is a prolonged string of compliments which must be paid. If they stop, the conversation is delayed until these are over, during which they generally stand hand in hand. If, however, they do not stop, the compliments are paid just the same, neither party turning the head but continuing *crescendo* until out of ear-shot. In the same way, if an Arab asks the way from a passer by, he does not as a rule stop, but continues asking and receiving questions in a shout without turning the head.

The compliments, on which the changes can be rung almost indefinitely, are the following :

FIRST ARAB.

Salam Aleikum,

(‘Peace on you.’)

Naharkum Mabruk,

(‘May your day be blessed.’)

Kefenak,

(‘How are you?’)

Hamdulillah : Sabahkum Bil-

kher,

(‘Well, thank God : Good day to you.’)

Ashalak,

(‘How is your health?’)

Taiibin Hamdulillah.

Kef Ummak,

(‘How is your mother?’)

SECOND ARAB.

Aleikum Salam, *or* Assala-

matkum,

(‘And on you peace.’)

Marhaba,

(‘Welcome to you.’)

Taiibin Kefenak,

(‘Well ; how are you?’)

Naharkum Mabruk.

Kef Abuk,

(‘How is your father?’)

Ashalak.

Kef Akhak,

(‘How is your brother?’)

and so on through all relations.

If they have stopped it all commences again when they part : “Massalama” (‘Go in peace’), “Barik Allah” (‘Bless God’), ‘Good day,’ ‘Peace on you,’ etc.

For water the people are dependent on the winter rains and the supply thus formed in the deep wells scattered over the plain. It is manifest that in former days the country maintained a large and industrious population, so that a great change in climate, and consequently in water-supply, has at some date taken place.

Though living within a few days of the coast,

the Tarhuni knows little or nothing of European civilization, and their curiosity and amazement at such things as a pocket-knife with several blades, a compass, or a camera tripod was very amusing. On showing a party of them the reflection of a large trilithon in the finder of my camera, I was asked whether the image seen was the structure before us or one I had taken the day before.

Upon the Tarhuna plateau is a little mosque or zawieh called Sheikh el-Madeni, built out of one of the numerous ancient sites in this district. This little sanctuary probably originated in the tomb of some holy sheikh, and it forms a conspicuous feature, in this land of tents, for miles. Here and there we find small cemeteries, in which the headstones are simply small unwrought blocks; but isolated tombs are often found on hill-tops near a line of tents, and many of the merabut tombs are only rude cairns or circles of stones.¹

On the morning of the 25th the plain was thick with a dense white fog and the thermometer stood but a degree or two above freezing point. Round my tent stood the Arabs, vague white ghost-like forms in the trailing wreaths of mist. I struggled shivering from my tent, and my cook fetched me my coffee, which I sat down

¹ Some curious enclosures of rough stones are, I think, for prayer, with a niche towards Mecca. Rudimentary mosques, in fact.

to drink in my damp burnus at the dripping tent door. Up came the sun, gleamed flickering through the mist, then mounted aloft and poured his rays over the plain. The fog turned from chill to steam, then showed a beautiful fog-bow. Lastly, it thinned, fled over the moist ground in long trails, and disappeared like an army of vaporous wraiths. In a quarter of an hour all was clear and warm.

After spending two days riding from ruin to ruin, photographing, sketching, and measuring, I marched south-east to a ruin called Kasr Ferjana, or Kasr Zuguseh, in the plain of Ferjana, where in the walls I found some curious phallic sculptures, together with a Roman inscription. Four watercourses were passed on this day, namely, the upper Targelat, or the Menshi branch of it, and the Wadis el-War, el-Uftah, and Hallak Shakir. Pitching my tent I at once rode off to the south-east, where I found the sites better preserved than in the more northern part of the plain, and more numerous. In fact, wherever I looked across the plain, I could see either near or far, a standing senam, or the upright posts of one capping the hills.

It had now become evident that it was impossible to visit anything like all the sites, and I determined that it would be more useful to make some attempt to ascertain, if possible, something about the geographical limits of the series. Accordingly, on the morning of the

27th, after a wet and squally night, I turned north-east and directed my steps towards Jebel Msid and the Wadi Kseia, where Barth had noticed already some remains. Leaving the plain, we passed down a narrow and stony but picturesque wadi called Shaahbet el-Khel, crossed at frequent intervals by massive Roman walls, evidently used for damming the water. This runs into the wide and more important Wadi



FIG. 13.—SENAM BU-HAMIDA.

Daun (called by Barth, Dawan), which runs east and west, considerably below the level of the Tarhuna plateau. On the north side, and nearly opposite Shaahbet el-Khel, is another tributary wadi called Kurmet el-Hatheia, which runs north-east and comes out into the Kseia plain.

Like Shaahbet el-Khel, both Wadi Daun and Kurmet el-Hatheia have the Roman dam-like

walls built across them at frequent intervals, those in Daun being continued to the west until the wadi loses itself on the plain. Besides these, in the wider part of Daun, which is between a quarter and half a mile across, there is the ancient fortress called Kasr Daun, situated on the left bank of the stream, and innumerable relics of Roman and perhaps earlier date.

Leaving Daun we entered Kurmet el-Hatheia, and about a mile's ride brought us out into the beautiful valley called Kseia. Here the scenery varied much from the barren plateau, the hills round it giving a more sheltered and home-like appearance, which was added to by an occasional tree. Away to the north-east, at the end of the valley, stood out Jebel Msid, easily recognizable by its rounded form and the small ruined building which caps its summit. In the middle of the valley I found the trilithon engraved by Barth in his book of travels. Others, some of them very remarkable, exist due south from here, and also at the base of Jebel Msid.

On arriving at the foot of the mountain, I saw a crowd of women standing before a line of tents, and uttering the strange mournful cry for the dead.¹ A man had died some time before, but the ceremony had been postponed till the end of Ramadan. The valley at the foot of Msid I found to be about 700 feet above the sea, and the summit of Msid about

¹ The Wulliah woo.

1320 feet, and therefore lower than some of the points about Doga.

From the summit a magnificent view lay before us. To the north-east lay Kusabat, appearing like three villages set in olives, and distant about seven miles. This was the only glimpse I got of anything like a village while I was in the hills, for I did not approach the one or two places where soldiers were quartered. Between Msid and Kusabat lay Wadi Ueni, which



FIG. 14.—RUIN ON JEBEL MSID.

joins Wadi Kseia south of Msid, and they run together to Wadi Targelat. Strange to say, neither of these important wadis appear on any map I know. In all other directions nothing but range after range of low hills, all of similar elevation, except to the south, where they died out in lower ranges towards the Beni Ulid country—a view somewhat monotonous, but charming from its sense of air and freedom, and in some ways from its utter desolation.

Kasr Msid, the ruined building on the top, appears to have been a small Muslim monastery, or zawieh, for beneath the building there is a tiny vaulted mosque. In this building, which is quite disused, there is some curious plaster decoration on the ceiling close to the "Mihrab," in which is a human hand in relief, a curious subject in a Mohammedan mosque.

Having examined the senams in Kseia, and my attendants informing me that there were but few sites of this character farther east,¹ I decided to march straight to the western end of Tarhuna, and then, by returning to Tripoli through Gharian, I hoped to ascertain if the series extended in that direction. Accordingly, on the 28th I returned by Wadi Daun, which I followed up till I came out on the plain near Kasr Zuguseh, and camped at Kom es-Las, on the Tarhuna plateau.

From Kom es-Las the Tarhuna plateau is an almost level and nearly waterless plain, which stretches west for nearly twenty miles. Then comes a country mountainous in character, but of no very great elevation. The eastern part of these hills are also in Tarhuna, and then Gharian is reached.

The plain we traversed next day. The wind had swung round to the south, and was blowing a steady "gibleh." In consequence of this the

¹ My investigations in M'salata in 1896 shows that this was incorrect.

heat increased all day, and on this waterless plain was very trying. My little *kafleh* all kept together, as Mohammed only knew the road, which was about south-west. After eight hours' travelling we entered the lower slopes of the hills, and I then for the first time became aware that one camelman was missing. On inquiry, I found the poor fellow had fallen out sick from the sun's heat, and had been left to make his way after us. After considerable search we found a well and camped by it, but we were now out of Mohammed's country, and he insisted that I must keep my *burnus* on, and show myself as little as possible. By and bye the poor camelman crawled up with a skin like yellow leather and his eyes fearfully blood-shot. I gave him some cooling draughts which did him good, and prescribed wet bandages to his head, as it was evident he had had a touch of the sun. Nothing would make him adopt the latter treatment, however, and he lay groaning in his tent, evidently in considerable suffering. I gave him a purging dose before bed, and the following day he was almost recovered.

The remaining days of my ride were neither so profitable nor so pleasant as the earlier part. The *senams* were few and far between, and from March 29 to April 2 it blew a *gibleh* wind of such force that we all suffered exceedingly. Sleep at night was impossible, for the wind threatened every minute to blow down the tents.

On the 30th we entered the western Tarhuna hills, by a picturesque pass between Jebel Jumma and Ras el-Aswad, which appear to be about 300 feet above the pass-level, and therefore about 1800 feet above the sea. Here we entered on a country of a totally new character to all we had seen—a broken hilly district inter-



FIG. 15.—JEBEL JUMMA.

sected by frequent wadis and watercourses running north and south. First we struck Wadi Hammam, a watercourse behind Jebel Jumma, with stagnant pools of water. Then we came to a lesser ravine, Shaahbet el-Zeraghwaneh, where some small batum trees formed a most welcome shelter.

All this day the hot south-west wind was

increasing in strength, and the heat becoming greater. So fatiguing we found the prolonged exposure to the heat, that we had continually to halt and lie down in the little patches of shadow formed by our horses' sides. My thirst was terrible, but I did not dare to drink from



FIG. 16.—WADI EL-HAMMAN.

the stagnant and frog-filled pools we found in the watercourses, and if I had not hit on the expedient of carrying a pebble in my mouth to promote saliva, I should have suffered still more. The strong wind, laden with electricity and sand, was no source of refreshment, and the only thing to do was to draw the hoods of

our woollen cloaks over our faces and try to forget our miseries. I noticed that whenever I moved quickly my burnus crackled quite distinctly with the electricity.



FIG. 17.—SHAHHRET EL-ZERAGHWANIEH.

As the afternoon advanced the sun became full in our faces, which was better than on our heads or necks. At three o'clock, after winding about among the hill points, we reached a beautiful fertile valley, with a few batum trees and patches of corn lying in the heart of the desolate hills. Here, after examining a somewhat poor senam (the last I found), we encamped under the shade of a tree. My thermometer, perfectly shaded, marked 88°.

In such a secluded place we did not expect

visitors, and I settled down at my tent to write. Mohammed had gone off with the "jerba" to find water, and Ibrahim was busy digging a hole in the ground to cook dinner. Suddenly he called to me to put on my tarbush and burnus, and, looking up, I saw a solitary horseman pricking across the valley towards us. My cook and a camelman ran to meet him, and soon all three returned. He proved to be a zabtieh, or irregular mounted policeman, on his way from Tarhuna to Gharian. He was most picturesquely dressed in a snow-white barracan, and was armed with a long gun and two pistols, all beautifully and richly inlaid. Fortunately he turned out to be an old friend of my cook, and very glad he was of the good supper and coffee he got at our tents. The expression of Mohammed's face when he returned and found a zabtieh seated in the encampment was a study. His horse and mine were very troublesome all night fighting, and had to be continually separated.

The gale increased during the night, and so did the heat. Several times I had to rise for fear my tent was coming down, and my thermometer was blown off its stand. Leaving at daybreak, we made our way west through a hilly country of the same character as that we had traversed the preceding day, but intersected at frequent intervals by wide and important wadis running north and south. We saw but very few Arabs, and those whom we met

Mohammed thought it better to avoid. The heat was now so great, and travelling in the terrible sun so trying, that I resolved to make very short stages by day, and to proceed, if the heat continued, by night until I reached Tripoli. My mouth became as dry as wood, and my lips covered with a dry brown cake. The films in my camera were so warped that the machinery stuck, and I found a stick of square sealing wax in my baggage quite flat like a bit of cardboard. The backs of my books and maps were all curled up by the dryness and heat.¹

Immediately west of Wadi Wif is the boundary between the districts of Tarhuna and Gharian, the most important place in the last being Kasr Gharian, where a Turkish military post of some strength is always maintained. Gharian (at any rate the eastern part of it, which I traversed) is very different in character from Tarhuna, being more truly mountainous, and, I should say, less thickly populated. The Gharianis, like the Tarhunis, live in tents (*gitûn*) and underground dwellings, and have the reputation of being richer than the Tarhunis, who, for some hardly explainable reason, are considered the

¹ I found all through these hot days that if the water was too foul to drink when travelling, I was greatly refreshed by washing my head and well soaking my cap and allowing it to dry on my head. I took no ill effects from this practice, although I have been assured it was most dangerous. There is no doubt it is an excellent preventative against sunstroke.

poorest and unluckiest of the hill men of the Tripoli chain. In Tarhuna I had, however, experienced nothing but courtesy and hospitality from the people, which was no doubt partly due to my travelling with a Tarhuni of respected and even holy family ; but as soon as I entered Gharian, things changed. My retainers insisted on my bundling myself in burnus and tarbush whenever we approached tents, and the less hospitable character of the Arabs was evinced at Wadi el-Ghan, where the people refused to sell me either provender for the animals or food for ourselves. My route from Wadi Wif lay west and north-west through the hills of Gharian. The chief features in this part of Gharian are the wide and important wadis which intersect the hills, and run north towards the sea, and the range of hills lying west of Wadi Wif called Kushiteh Gamatah. The most important wadis are Wadi Bir el-War, a large stony watercourse, dry at this time of year ; Wadi Gethathet Dum, a little beyond which is another, the name of which I failed to obtain ; and, lastly, Wadi el-Ghan, eight hours distant from Wadi Wif, where, to my delight, we found a stream of running water. This wadi at this point is some four or five hours from the Kasr, and is, in fact, the southern prolongation of the great Wadi Haira or el-Jair, which runs right out on to the plain some eight or ten miles west of Wadi Majenin.

[Arabs, like animals, have an extraordinary objection to running water, and search for a stagnant pool of putrid water rather than drink from a flowing stream ; and here I had my only altercation with my retainers, who objected to camp at Wadi el-Ghan on the score of unwholesome water, and the plea that the place was on the high road to Gharian, and infested with thieves. We appeared, however, to have now got out of the district of the senams, and the intolerable heat decided me on following the wadi direct to Tripoli instead of approaching nearer to the Kasr, by which nothing could be gained, and could only run my men into possible difficulties with the authorities.

The country passed through between Wadi Wif and Wadi el-Ghan is cut up into many points, among which the traveller winds on his road to Gharian. There are no wide plains as in Tarhuna, and the track leads through the hills at an elevation of 1400 to 1600 feet, while the hilltops appear to be some 500 feet higher. Though my men could hear of no megalithic ruins of the senam type, some of the eminences are capped with crumbling buildings, which may well be Roman. On the lower ground a good deal of corn is planted, and halfa grass is plentiful. Thorns (*sidra*) are fairly numerous.¹

¹ This is what Leo Africanus has to say about Gharian : "Of Mount Gharian. This high and cold mountaine, containing in length fortie and in bredth fiteene miles, and being

The sun sank in the west, and as it descended our spirits rose a little, for to the traveller in North Africa the sun, during a "gibleh" wind, is a veritable enemy. Even late in the afternoon the thermometer at my tent door showed 100°. But night brought little comfort. The hot wind fluttered the tent curtains, then roared over us, threatening to bring the tent itself down. With the curtain looped up all round me, I lay panting on the bed with the dust flying into my nostrils and eyes. As each gust struck the tents I heard a faint chorus from the tent behind, "Ya latif! ya latif!" (Oh merciful! oh merciful!). About three o'clock I rose and went out, as there was a lull and a slight breeze from the north. But the change had not yet come, and when I rose in the morning the "gibleh" was still blowing, my thermometer was lying eight

separated from other mountaines by a sandie desert, is distant from Tripolis almost fiftie miles. It yeeldeth great plentie of barly and of dates, which vnlesse they be spent while they are new, will soon prooue rotten. Heere are likewise abundance of oliues: Wherefore from this mountaine into Alexandria and other cities there is much oil conueighed. There is not better saffron to be found in any part of the world besides, which in regard of the goodnesse is solde very deere. For yeerely tribute there is gathered out of this mountaine three-score thousand ducates, and as much saffron as fiftene mules can carrie. They . . . have certain base villages vpon this mountaine" (Hakluyt Edition of *Leo Africanus*, 1896, Vol. III., p. 743). I must apologise to the reader that my ignorance of botany precludes my saying if the "sidra" is the prickly *Zizyphus Lotus*.

feet from its stand, and the hills barely showed their outlines in the sickly haze.

A man was despatched to a village to obtain some provisions, and, having given orders that we would march at sunset, I settled myself for a day in my tent. A blanket was thrown over the tent to lessen the strength of the sun, and was immediately blown off. Food and sleep were equally out of the question.

At about an hour after noon Mohammed came to my tent and said we must leave. The Gharianis were not like the Tarhunis, and, ignorant of the reasons of our camping there, insisted that if we wished to see Gharian we must go to the Kasr. Unfortunately we were not in a position to defy these inhospitable barbarians, for not only could we not obtain provisions for ourselves, but they would not sell us fodder for our animals. There was nothing for it but to beat a dignified retreat. Another reason was the very unfeigned apprehensions which my men expressed concerning thieves if we remained till night and then set out, but on which at the time I did not lay much weight.

Accordingly, at about three o'clock we loaded up for a start. While the preparations were going on, Mohammed brought up to me and introduced two well-dressed Arabs, who, he said, were important people, and regretted much that we had to leave, and that they wished us to go and stop at their home. Disgusted as I was

with the behaviour of the Gharianis, and not particularly charmed with the villainous countenances and fulsome manner of the couple, I told them straight out that people who wished to welcome strangers would not have refused to sell them the common wants of travellers. When we left, these two men followed us for a mile or two, and then parted from Mohammed, each holding his hand in turn, and repeating with him a short but apparently fervent prayer for a pleasant and happy journey to us. The worst looking villain then came round to me, and seizing my hand pressed it to his bosom, while in the most affecting tones he breathed a prayer that we would shortly meet again and live as brothers. When they had left, we pushed on with redoubled speed, and Ibrahim riding up to me informed me that this man was the most notorious bandit, thief, and cut-throat in all Tripoli.

Wadi el-Ghan, through which I commenced my return journey on the afternoon of April 1, is so beautiful that I felt no regret at having climbed no farther over the barren hills towards Gharian, although the scenery, indeed, was somewhat spoiled by the sickly haze which hung over all after the prolonged gibleh wind. This important wadi is, indeed, with its lower prolongation of Wadi Haira, a regular caravan route from Tripoli to this part of Gharian. First we clambered along the rocky bed of the

watercourse, which for some distance was a conglomerate of large stones, but lower down becomes limestone; and in one place a fine section can be seen where the latter overlaps the former. Farther down, the wadi runs between grand cliffs of limestone and sandstone, which in places were dark red with iron ore. In the rough bed of the ravine were stagnant pools with reeds, but running water we found none after getting some distance from the camp. There was life, too, in this wild valley. Drovers of camels came trudging along, with their dusky lean-limbed owners nodding on their backs or slouching at their heels. At one corner a party of wild half-naked lads and lassies dashed screaming and laughing from some game, and hiding behind reeds and rocks, stared, with great black wonderstruck eyes, at the apparition of the white skin invading their playground. Then a mile of unbroken solitude, and another corner, and before us stood by a rock two tall white-robed Arabs like statues, with their bleating charges round them.

Three hours' ride from our camp, the wadi emerges from cliffs, and becomes a watercourse running through cultivated pastures, which extend up to the bases of the hills.

After a four hours' march, we camped on a small plain lying a short distance out of the wadi, and close to some Arab tents. At half-past two I rose completely refreshed, and

bundled my men out of bed in the darkness. An hour later we were packed and off, picking our way along a stony track in the deep shadow of the hills, having left the wadi behind us. Not a word was spoken, and the dead silence of the night seemed only emphasized by the measured tread of the camels and the occasional click of a horse's shoe against a stone. Gradually the east brightened, and the pale green of the sky turned a faint orange, while one by one the stars lost themselves in the glow. As the dawn approached the air grew fresher, nay, even became chilly, so that we pulled our cloaks closer round us. The breeze, full of life, fanned us gently from the north, and we knew that the "gibleh" was quite over. Brighter, brighter grew the glow, while the horizon of the plain, for we had now cleared the hills, grew blacker and blacker, and each shrub or sheep or line of tents told out before us in silhouette.

Then suddenly, as the sun's rays poured over the plain, all seemed to spring to life; out came the beetles, true emblems of industry, and instantly set to work, rolling away their round balls of dung. The crickets chirped and insects whizzed out of the grass, while bees hung stationary as from a thread in mid air. Close behind were the Gharian hills we had just left, which formed a long continuous range on our right, till far away, beyond Khashm Aruf, the

dim outline of Tarhuna about Fum Doga was lost in the glow of sunrise. Before us, and to our left, lay, like islands on a plain, otherwise dead flat, three separate rounded hills, showing a delicate pink in the sun. These hills, which are outliers of the Gharian chain, are called respectively, Battus, M'Dawar, and Mamureh, though my men insisted upon it that the names



FIG. 18.—ISOLATED HILLS ON PLAIN OUTSIDE THE GHARIAN RANGE.

were interchangeable, and that it did not matter which was which.¹ At half-past eight we halted to let the animals feed and to breakfast, and pitched our tents. The plain is of the same character as that outside Tarhuna, with some

¹ The three isolated hills are called by Barth Battus, Smaera, and Gedaea, and Captain Lyon described Bates and Smeeran as close together. It should be noted that my information was from Tarhunis, who did not know the district well.

cultivation, and a sparse population living in tents.

Two hours after noon we resumed our way, and at four o'clock came to the well called Bir el-Sbeia, where we stopped to water the animals, which had not drunk since leaving the camp at Wadi el-Ghan. We found here about a dozen Arabs with horses to water, and although there was neither bucket nor rope at the well, nobody thought of going for one, but simply sat down to wait until someone more business-like be-thought himself to bring one with him. In vain I stormed and implored and offered "bu-tisains."¹ They only smiled at the absurd impatience of the Frank, and remarked that there was no house (tent) near, where anyone possessed either rope or bucket, but "Inshallah," one would come by-and-bye. At last, after an hour and a half, a man said he would go and hunt for one, and returned with it in about ten minutes. My temper, not improved by this ridiculous delay, was destined to be further ruffled that night. We rode along the broad fertile Wadi Majenin, which is entered at Sbeia, and in an hour came to a rich little bit of pasture with Arab tents on one side, a small white house on the further side, and numbers of camels, horses, and sheep feeding on it.

¹ A Tripoli "bu-tisain" is worth about fourpence half-penny. The word literally signifies "father of ninety," it being worth ninety paras.

Now my men were anxious to camp here for their animals' sakes, and so was I for my own. But the house was the property of a pasha, and by ill-luck the pasha was at home. But it was dark, and after a prolonged conversation between my men and a shepherd, they suggested that we should camp, and make a start before the pasha was up. This being decided on, we were



FIG. 19.—ON THE PLAIN OUTSIDE THE GHARIAN HILLS.

about to unload the animals, when a servant of the pasha arrived with an invitation to lodge at his house. Mohammed turned pale, sent the man off with a message that we were coming, and as he disappeared into the darkness due north, we executed exactly the same movement due south.

So we trudged on again in the dark, making a long detour, and then coming again into the

Tripoli road. Dogs were barking in tents all round us, and we could hear far off the monotonous sound of women wailing for the dead. At nine o'clock, hungry enough, for I had eaten nothing since ten in the morning, and no solid food indeed since the beginning of the gibleh, we pitched our camp alongside some tents, but without any pasturage for the animals.

In the morning Mohammed said that before the sun rose he was awake, and looked, and behold, the revolving light at Tripoli could be seen going round and round and round. A six hours' ride brought me to the gates of the capital, the last four being across the sandy waste which I had crossed further east on my way to Tarhuna. But now the wind was cool and insufficient to blow up its dusty surface, and my heart was light as are all men's when a task, though a small one like mine, is ended.

II.

A RIDE IN TARHUNA, JAFARA, AND M'SALATA, 1896.

My second ride in the Tarhuna hills was undertaken with the object of obtaining further information of the subject of the megalithic sites, and also with the hope that I might collect some further data concerning the modern geography of the district, which might lead to its identifica-

tion in the lists of the ancient geographers. The year 1896 was, during the spring months, of an abnormally stormy character, with cold high winds and heavy rains, so that though I was fortunate enough to pick perhaps the finest fortnight in February, March, and April, I found travelling far less comfortable than the preceding year.¹

¹ The climate of Tripoli, fine and dry as it is usually during March and April, can sometimes be the very reverse, as this year showed. One of the many storms I experienced during this spring took place on March 25th, when I was residing at the Consulate, and was sufficiently remarkable to merit notice. This squall came up from the west, and just before it struck the town the wind dropped, and instantly freshened from the opposite quarter. Five minutes before it reached us, we noticed from the roof of the Consulate a remarkable appearance over the sea, but, we could not determine whether it was caused by heavy rain or wind. At the same time we heard above the thunder, which was loud and almost continuous, a sort of shrill rattling sound. Next moment we were driven below by a volley of hail, of which the pellets were the size of marbles. The shower lasted but ten minutes, but during that time the streets and roof tops were covered to the depth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches; and my bedroom, of which the window was open, presented an extraordinary aspect. The hail commenced to melt at once, and even before the storm was over, it was running in bucketsful from the roofs, and in rivers down the narrow streets. Yet it was a long while before it disappeared, and for over an hour the servants could be seen on the roof tops shovelling it away, and clearing the pipes with long rods. After it was over the sun appeared, and the streets presented a strange appearance with the piles of hail. The Maltese and Italians used it like "confetti" at the carnival, while the little Arabs gathered basket loads to take home as curiosities.

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My route on the day I started coincided with that of 1895 ; but we camped at a well called Bir el-Tuteh, situated in a small green patch in the sandy waste, and somewhat further from Tripoli than my first camp the previous journey. After a wet night we got away, and after passing the Neshieh oasis, we came rather before noon to the old spot where we crossed the Wadi Raml last year. Fortunately the rain had laid the sand, so that we experienced no such discomfort as before. I noticed, too, as we rode on to the lower slopes that, although somewhat earlier in the year, they were bright with wild flowers, and far fresher and greener than when I was last there. This route, which is the direct one to Doga, divides Tarhuna and Jafara, the latter district embracing all the plain to the east, although not including any part of the hill range itself.

My intention this year was to enter the Tarhuna hills by the Wadi Terr'gurt,¹ the next important opening in the hills east of Wadi Doga, and in which I had every reason to hope I should find more of the senam sites ; and, accordingly, we left our old route close to our camping ground of March 22nd 1895, and, turning rather more east, we marched towards the Fum, or mouth of Terr'gurt, which showed plainly in the hills. The tents were pitched in a beautiful piece of plain,

¹ Wadi Terr'gurt. This has never appeared in its proper position on any map, and it has gone through a most extraordinary variety of spellings. See Section III. p. 114.

covered with wild flowers, and gorse, and sprinkled at frequent intervals with Arab encampments and patches of barley. Immediately west of our tents, however, was a large piece of soft sand, without any herbage, and two or three miles in diameter. This juxtaposition of fertility and desert has a very curious effect.

My attendants were five in number: Mohamed my guide, who had come specially down from the hills to escort me; my cook, Ali, lazy and talkative, as I soon found, and but a poor exchange for my sable Ibrahim of last year; Haji Mahmud, a sturdy Berber in charge of the five donkeys. Besides these, two extra men, a Tarhuni and a ragged old scarecrow whose duty it was to help Mahmud. The scarecrow had one single ragged cloak to cover his nakedness, but he was a saint or merábüt, his peculiar idiosyncrasy being that he never spoke.

Although travelling fasting, for it was Ramadan, these people were in a perpetual good temper, singing, laughing, and chaffing one another. In conversing they gave each other courtesy titles. Thus, my guide became "Ya Sheikh Tarhuni" (O Sheikh of the Tarhunis), the cook was "Ali Effendi," while Mahmud, in virtue of his rank as a pilgrim, was always addressed as "Ya Si el-Haj" (Sir Pilgrim). The ragged saint was too holy for such frivolity, so he was simply "Ya Merábüt."

On the morning of the 4th March I rose to

one of those heavy wet fogs which sometimes lie in the spring months over the Tripoli hills. Great wreaths of vapour dragged and drifted round the soaking tents, and, although every now and then a great rift showed us a glimpse of the black line of the hills we were to enter, the sun seemed powerless to dispel it. From the encampments round Arabs came and squatted down to hear the latest Tripoli gossip, while we waited in the vain hope of some warm sunshine to dry our canvas somewhat before we started. Our road lay first in a south-easterly direction over the undulating upland, crossing first the Wadi Doga, which here, outside the hills, is a deep cutting, invisible till it is reached. Next we came to Wadi Dūghūn, a smaller water-course of the same character, near which we saw a series of excavations in the ground, with walls in front of them. These are storehouses for "tibn" (straw). The plain from here stretching away towards Kasr Jafara, which can be seen from many points as a white speck on the coast, is all in the district of that name. This particular part of it, however, bears the name of Jeabin, is well supplied with wells, and has numerous encampments and henshirs.

Just outside the Fum or mouth of Terr'gurt two sites were examined, and the bearings of others which could be seen away north and east noted. One of those visited, Senam Semana, was of a very remarkable character, having the

remains of some twenty trilithonic senams in a line, each of which had at one time its great altar before it.¹ Here, if ever, we are to find the true plan of a senam site, for not only did the place appear far less altered than most I had seen, but the massiveness of the megaliths



FIG. 20.—WADI TERR'GURT IN THE HILLS.

seemed to attest the importance of the place in its time. "Here," said Mohammed, "is the Medina, the Capital"; and indeed this did not seem a bad way to put it.

This day proved in its way rather eventful. After we entered the wadi we lost all track of

¹ The detailed description will be found in the list of sites.

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our baggage animals, and it was some time before we picked it up. At last we found them close to a cliff on the east side of the ravine which projects at the junction of the main wadi with a minor watercourse. Here, on the summit of the cliff, was an ancient site called Mehal el-Meadi, from its being situated in the territory



FIG. 21.—SENAM SEMANA (TERR'GURT).

of the tribe which bear that name. To this I repaired, but, owing to the behaviour of the Arabs on the spot, my examination of what proved to be a most remarkable place, came to an untimely end. It appeared that close to the ruins was the shrine of a merábut, and on my arrival the neighbouring Arabs collected and pro-

ceeded in no measured terms to abuse Mohammed for bringing a Kaffir there. Seeing the excited condition of the people, I left my guide to argue the point, and walked rapidly over the site making notes. When this was done, I returned for my camera, which unfortunately was being carried by Mohammed. I found him the centre of an excited and gesticulating crowd, and when I signified to him that I required my camera, he said that we must leave at once. I saw at once that relations were too strained to admit of any parley, and accordingly we beat an undignified retreat—to my great chagrin—for I had not taken a single photograph. From what I learnt afterwards, it appeared that the tribesmen who live here and cultivate, even within the walls of the ruin, began by abusing Mohammed for bringing one who was both a “Rumi” (Christian) and a Kaffir spy to their merábut. Mohammed tried to explain that I was but an English traveller wishing to see the ancient sites; but this only incensed their fanaticism, for they began cursing Mohammed, and their cupidity and suspicion being equally aroused, they demanded a large sum for my coming there.

The Wadi Terr‘gurt, which was traversed this day and the morning of the 5th, is a ravine winding between clay cliffs and having generally a southern course. Following, as I was compelled to do, in order not to attract notice, the

ravine, I am hardly able to say whether there is above a broad plain between the hills, but from what I could ascertain, it does not appear that this is so to the same extent as Doga. Two and a half hours from the Fum, the junction between Wadi Terr'gurt and Wadi Guman,



FIG. 22.—WADI TERR'GURT IN THE HILLS.

which comes from a point rather west, is reached, and here right before the traveller is a striking conical hill called Ras el-Guman, behind which lies an amphitheatre of barren hills through which are passes leading on to the Tarhuna plateau.

Throughout this valley and the Guman dis-

trict, as well as on the plain near the Fum, the senam sites appear numerous, and besides those visited, the bearings of others, viewed at a distance off the road, were noted; and, as in Doga and the Tarhuna plateau we found also numerous traces of Roman occupation.

On the 5th of March our route lay up the Wadi Guman, which joined the Terr'gurt, a little distance above our camp. Soon after entering this wadi, we met a boy carrying thirty partridge eggs, which I bought for a "bu-tisain," a most welcome and luxurious addition to my larder.¹

The Wadi Guman in its lower half is a winding upland wadi containing, what is not

¹ A "bu-tisain," or "father of ninety," is a double piastre piece, and worth about $4\frac{1}{2}d$. To give some idea of the muddling condition of the Tripoli currency, I would ask the reader to study the following:

*1 piastre (Turkish)	= 40 paras.
*1 Tripoli piastre	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} = 2\frac{1}{2} \text{ piastres currency.} \\ = \frac{2}{3} \text{ of a mahbub.} \end{array} \right.$
1 small silver piastre	= 45 paras.
1 bu-tisain	= 90 paras.
*1 mahbub	= 20 piastres currency.
1 mejidieh	= $21\frac{1}{2}$ piastres currency or 19 small silver piastres.
1 pound English	= 113 small silver piastres or $127\frac{1}{2}$ piastres currency.
1 Napoleon	= 90 small silver piastres or 102 piastres currency.

The sums starred, though often used in asking prices, are not represented by any coin.

very usual in Tripoli, a running stream and frog-filled pools. After four hours spent in riding about visiting the sites here, we arrived at the base of the mountain pass which led to the plateau. Here, on our left, lay the solitary cone of Ras el-Guman, standing like a sentry



FIG. 23.—WADI GUMAN LOOKING NORTH.

in an amphitheatre of hills, among which, to our right, though now hidden, lay Jebel Arva, over which I had ridden the preceding visit. Then commenced a toilsome struggle. Before us the track wound round among rocks and stones, over which the donkeys slowly picked

their way. As we advanced the road became steeper and steeper, the rocks rougher, and over and over again the donkeys in clambering through them were deprived of their loads by the projecting rocks. We all dismounted and walked, but delays were frequent and progress necessarily slow.

By this time, it had become apparent to me that donkeys are not so much superior to camels for travelling purposes. On a hard surface they will, of course, make far better going than camels, but the minute you get to sand, an important feature in Tripoli, their speed slacks down to that of the camel. Again, in the rough hill passes such as I describe, the donkey is so short that his pack is caught by the rocks, which the tall camel strides along independent of; here, too, his speed is not great. While, again, the camel never breaks down like the donkey, which, as I know to my cost, stumbles continually. In addition to this, donkeys must be hired in a town, and the owner, who will probably accompany them, does all he can to delay the journey, as he is paid by the day. But wherever the camels are hired does not signify, as no earthly power will induce a camel to alter his speed from that he thinks fit and proper. Besides this, his discreet and quiet behaviour renders his society infinitely more pleasant, both by day and night, to that of the donkey, whose continuous braying and scandalous

behaviour whenever he meets his brothers and sisters renders the traveller's life a misery.¹

At last, after replacing the baggage for the tenth time, we wound out at the valley head, and, after passing a bubbling streamlet pouring from a small wadi on the right, and a Roman dam and ruins on the left, we saw in front of us the rolling plateau where I had camped a year back; before us the dip through which the Targelat meandered, and away to the right the tiny zawieh of El-Madeni.

If ever I experienced the feelings of a villain, I did so this evening. A little cock and hen had been purchased in the morning for my larder, and, in the manner of the country, had been tied by their legs all day in the blazing sun on a donkey's back. While the tents were being pitched I found them in the

¹ The Arabs sometimes playfully term the camel "Merkeb el Barr" (the land ship), our "ship of the desert." A Turkish official report has given for Tripoli vilayet a total of 350,000 camels and 30,000 horses; but it is doubtful if this includes Fezzan. The Tripolines in driving donkeys and camels use a series of ejaculations which sound strange to Europeans, "Rrri" or "Trri" being the usual word to urge greater speed. To this is added every name of abuse imaginable. "Rrri ya meskinah" (Get on, O stricken with poverty), "Ya kaffir" (O infidel), "Ya Yahudi" (O Jew), "Ya kelb" (You dog), or "Ya Tahan," or "Ya Godi," which expressions are too forcible for translation. To stop the ass you say "Hassshh." On the other hand, to bring a camel to its knees, a strange gurgling sound is emitted from the back of the throat, which defies spelling.

dust still tied, and the little cock crowing lustily and defiantly. Poor little chap; his clear ringing note brought back to me the vaunting old heraldic motto, "While I live I'll crow."

The next day I made a fruitless attempt to excavate round an altar and senam at El-Madeni, but failing to find much of interest, I marched south-east to the districts of Ghirrah and Mamurah, through which the great Targelat Wadi runs to the sea.¹ These districts which lie to the south of Ferjana form a series of wide valleys, undulating and green in character, and all running towards the sea at Kam. These valleys, which have no deep ravines in them, appear to be all different parts of the Targelat, but they go by the names of the districts. Thus we have Targelat mta Ghirrah el-Kebir, and Targelat mta Ghirrah el-Saghir, also Wadi bu-Samida, apparently a branch course. Below, to the south-east, it becomes Targelat mta Mamurah. These wide green depressions appear poorly populated, and tents were few and far between; a fact which seems curious, for the country appears a good pasturage. Lower down, however, as the wadi approaches the sea, it is said to be rather thickly inhabited.

Since my first visit to the Tarhuna country I

¹ The identification of the Targelat with the ancient Cinyps, and the historical aspect, will be discussed fully in another place.

had cherished a theory, which for lack of evidence I had never dared to express, that this hill district abounding in ruins was the *των χαρίτων*, or "Hill of the Graces," from which Herodotus tells us the river Cinyps rose and ran 200 stadia to the sea. Now here I was in a splendid valley called Targelat, which all my people agreed in saying ran out to the sea at Kam, which has long been identified as the mouth of the Cinyps, though it was supposed that that wadi extended but a few miles from the coast, and that at some date an error had crept into the pages of Herodotus. Here, too, I was in Tarhuna, among the senams, and my guide said that the watercourse took its rise at Menshi in the very heart of the series. Great, then, was my disappointment, when, on telling Mohammed that it was my intention to follow the wadi to the sea, he at once pronounced it impossible. The population below was large, and bore too bad a reputation to venture through without a government escort. With some guides I could have perhaps ignored this as superfluous caution, but Mohammed I knew too well to doubt that he had reason for all he said. Even where we were, he was nervous and ill at ease, and the previous night, he said, he walked round my tent on guard without sleep, and that floods of water came from his skin for fear for me.

Reluctantly abandoning this design, I visited

for me

the senam sites in the Ghirrah¹ district, and then turned sharp back into the Ferjana district, for it appeared that if I could not follow the wadi my best plan was to visit the mouth of it from

¹ The extraordinary number of place names beginning with *ghar*, *ghur*, *ghir*, *gur*, or *ger* in Tripoli has exercised me much, and I could not help thinking of the Libyan Garamantes, with their city of Garama. There is such a variety, however, in the name sounds, that probably they differ widely in origin. We have the district of Gharian, while on the coast west of Tripoli are Gheran and Ghirgarish, at each of which places are ancient quarries. The latter appears a corruption of a man's name, while Gheran, and perhaps Gharian, seem to be connected with غَار (ghar), 'to descend into a valley,' whence غَوَّر (ghawwar), 'to sink into the ground'; and again غَار and مغارة (ghar, magharah), 'a cave.' Barth also mentions a place called Sidi el-Ghar, near Zenzur. Ghirrah is undoubtedly a term descriptive of a certain sort of country, and is common in the hill range. It is described by the Arabs as signifying a tract, not mountainous, nor palm groves, nor altogether corn land, but an upland tract where thorns (sidra) generally grow. On our maps of Tripoli a variety of names somewhat akin appear, and some of them may be only variations of European spelling. We have Geria el Gerbia and Sherkie, Wadi Garra Salem, and Gerā, Hamed ben Suezi, all south of Mizda; Grat el Adam, between Murzuk and Eden; Gur Trinsa, Gara Shlima, and Gara Kalfalla, and numerous others between Murzuk and Sella; where, in fact, most names seem compounded of *gara*, *gur*, or *gerarat*. The first two of these last can also be followed on the map to Jabub. Barth also says the Arabs call ancient olive trees Ghur Faraon. The hill names of the Cinyps country should, however, be noticed. Girgyris (Ptolemy), Gyri (Pliny), and Charitōn (Herodotus).



Khoms, and see what information I could obtain there. The 7th of March, on which I commenced my return journey, was exceptionally wild and cold. The wind came roaring out of the north-west, and all my people were bundled up in their barracans to the eyes, and complaining bitterly of the "segga" (cold): while I found my great ulster none too warm even in the middle of the day. Just before leaving, a poor old negro came to me for medicine. He complained of great internal pain, which he said he had suffered from for sixteen years. Of course I was unable to help him, though these people think so much of European drugs that it is hard to resist giving them some simple medicine, if one has it by one. As all my baggage was loaded, however, I could do no more than promise to send him something from Khoms.

A short distance down the wadi we struck back north-east by a small watercourse, and found ourselves on the Ferjana plain. Away to the north-west we could see the rounded top of Jebel Msid, capped by the small ruin I had visited the preceding year; while scattered over the plain we could discern many of the senam sites which are here so abundant.

It is hard to imagine greater desolation than these barren uplands display. No tree, few animals,¹ and the habitations of man so scattered

¹ During my rides in the hills the only quadrupeds seen were three hares, a few camelions, and a mouse. Birds are

that you may ride for hours without seeing them, and when you do see them, but tents; nothing but the great rolling plain, lifeless and lonely. Yet the country seems to live in the past; and to the thoughtful traveller the strange ruins, scattered, as it were, broadcast wherever he turns, cannot fail to conjure up feelings of wonder as he rides through these desolate hills. Lonely it may be, but not dull, for the hillsides speak and the crumbling walls tell tales to those who pass.

And beautiful, too, in its dreary way, is all we see from the Ferjana plain. From where we stand on this wind-swept hill, our glance falls first from the ruin on Msid to the grey point of Tyib Lism surmounted again by a ruin. Away to the south-east, in a golden haze of light, lie purple the four points which the Arabs call El-Guerat el-Tahwileh. Hitherwards the countryside seems to sink in range after range, dying down, as it were, to meet the desert plains which stretch away to the land of Beni-Ulid.

There is a tenderness and delicacy about the outline of these low ranges as seen in this eastern light which no draughtsman but a

commoner, the quail, partridge, heron, and various hawks existing, but they are scarce. Gazelles, of course, are found in the plains near the foot of the range, and foxes I have seen near the coast at Tripoli. Wolves and jackals seem unknown in the hills.

master could depict. To all this let us add in the foreground, and about half a mile away, the black jambs of a great megalithic group, the only evidence of humanity—of humanity long dead and gone—in this strange picture.

At an hour before noon we were again at Senam el-Nejm, and soon after, picking our way down Shaahbet el-Khel towards Wadi Daun. As I sat at my lunch here, a large caravan of esparto camels came slouching down the pass on their way to Khoms, a sign that we were again on the high road. From here we traversed the Kseia, visiting the sculptured trilithon of Senam el-Gharabah, passing over the shoulder of Jebel Msid, and, crossing a small wadi called Koreish behind it, we camped for the night in the centre of the wide valley of Ueni.

The Wadi Ueni, which is in the M'salata Kaimakamlik,¹ is a step between the hills of

¹This is a list of the Kaimakamluks and Mudiriehs in the hill range. At all these places there is a little garrison, and consequently a few built houses.

M'salata	Kaimakam, lives at M'salata.
Tarhuna	Kaimakam, lives at Kasr Tarhuna.
Orfila	Kaimakam, lives at Orfila.
Misrata	Kaimakam, lives at Misrata.
Zliten	Mudir.
Tuargha	Mudir.
Sirt	Mudir.
Gharian	Kaimakam, lives at Kasr Gharian.
Jebel	Mutasarrif, lives at Yefrin.

Tarhuna and the slopes which reach to the sea. It is a plain rather than a wadi, although it has its watercourse running south-east. The width where we camped is about three miles, and it is beautifully green, and here and there can be seen scattered olive groves, for it is



FIG. 24. —CAMP IN WADI UENI.

close to the town of M'salata, a great olive country. About the centre where we camped rose a hillock capped by a small square castle of

Nallut	Kaimakam, lives at Kasr Nallut.
Kikela	Kaimakam.
El Hout	(pronounced like goat) Mudir.

Altogether there are thirteen Kaimakams and eight Mudirs in Tripoli. The former get 1500 to 2500 piastres a month, for the latter 1200 piastres is the highest pay. Mutesarriifs rank next to Walis.

rough masonry and doubtful age ; and while all the valley is surrounded by gentle hills, the higher masses about Jebel Msid on its west both dominate and add dignity to the scenery.

On the 8th of March a ride of $8\frac{1}{2}$ hours brought us to Khoms. Looking down the Wadi Ueni, as we were passing out of it, we saw, at what looked about an hour's distance, a castle, which Mohammed said was called Kasr Mamurah.¹ Distances, however, are so deceptive here that it may have been closer.

After clearing the valley, we saw about a mile away to the left the olive groves of M'salata, and we at once entered a country differing much in aspect from the bare uplands we had been travelling over.² Everywhere lay pretty little fenced orchards and olive groves, some of the latter being of large extent, and containing trees of great age ; and, in fact, the contour of the country might almost be compared to some

¹ It is said to be in Wadi Ueni, however, not in Mamurah. The Ueni runs like all others to Wadi Targelat. It should be noted that Barth mentions a Kasr Saade, and a Kasr Amamre, which may be identical with the castle we camped near, and Kasr Mamurah. But his Kasr Amamre is too far east if this is so.

² M'salata is the headquarters of this Kaimakamlik, and is made into a puzzle on most maps, being generally marked Kusabat. The fact is that at M'salata is a string of villages, extending for some length, and bearing different names. The name of Kusabat (plural of Kusbah) is applied to the part where two castles are situated.

of the chalk downs of England. On all sides we saw signs that we were now approaching the busier and more industrious life of the coast; for here and there, instead of the grey lines of tents, tiny little stone-built houses nestled among the olives, while lines of camels bearing their unwieldy burdens of esparto to Khoms, or returning with their empty nets, were frequently encountered.

After a while we came to a curious little isolated hill, bearing on its summit a tiny village, which bears the name of Sidi Hamed, no doubt from the shrine of some holy man. Near here we picked up, though not without some difficulty, the Khoms M'salata road, and at mid-day we found ourselves on a sort of terrace from which spread before us, at a distance of about ten miles, the blue Mediterranean.

The landscape we viewed from here, though most beautiful in point of colouring, was of a most arid description; for, although interspersed with an occasional olive grove, the face of the country which slopes all the way to the sea had a sort of brick-red colour, differing strangely with the country we had just left. This barren aspect is no doubt enhanced by the brilliant blue of sky and sea in which the foreground was set; but even allowing for this, it was difficult to imagine that we were looking over the plain towards where the proud city of Leptis Magna once stood. The chief points in the landscape

were the promontory called Ras el-M'sel, which lies a few miles west of Khoms, and the bold hill of Mergub, which, crowned with ruins, lies about three and a half miles inland.¹ Khoms itself, however, and the plain of Lebda, were obscured by the intervening slopes; while away to the south-east we could trace the low coast line to the mouth of the Targelat and Zliten.

From here to Khoms the countryside is thickly sprinkled with ruins, many being Roman tombs and castles, bearing witness to the widespread influence of Roman Lebda; while numerous senam sites, though mostly ill-preserved, show us that the builders of these temples occupied the country down to the coast. Some mention of all these will be found elsewhere.

Two incidents happened before my arrival. The donkey I was riding suddenly swerved and attacked a passing donkey with ungovernable fury. In vain I attempted to pull the animal back, and although all three legs of my camera tripod were broken over its head, and it was bleeding profusely from my application of the spikes of the tripod legs, it was of no avail. I therefore jumped off the brute and left the task of separation to the respective owners.

Shortly before reaching Mergub we noticed, not far from a solitary trilithon, a large crowd standing before a tent, many of which were women, uttering that strange shrill cry, which is

¹ Mergub, see the section describing Lebda.

used equally for joy or sorrow. As we looked, a shot or two was fired, and a horseman dashed at full speed from the tent followed by two or three on foot. The noise redoubled, more shots were fired, and we saw from different parts of the plain, armed Arabs running towards the tent. Shortly after, some thirty Arabs, each carrying his long gun and attended by one or two horsemen, streamed down the hill past us. This was an organized expedition against a gang of thieves who had either attacked or plundered the tent, and the shots fired were to summon the tribesmen.

When I and my six men, five donkeys, and one camel, rode into the little town of Khoms, we created quite a stir, for travellers here are not common. Soon I was sitting in a cool shaded room in the house of Mr. Tate, the representative of Messrs. Perry, Bury & Co., esparto merchants, to whose courtesy during my stay here I am not a little indebted.

SECTION III.

THE MODERN AND ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF THE EASTERN HILL RANGE.

DURING my month's wanderings in the hill range of Tripoli, I was enabled to get a good idea of the country, and of its physical characteristics; and before placing before the reader the evidence of the ruins themselves, it may not be without interest to point out the geographical character of the country, and briefly to call his attention to the light which is cast upon it by history.

The hill chain of Tripoli may be said to commence on the east with Tarhuna, for between this and the sea at Leptis it graduates off with gentle slopes. At this point it is some fifteen miles from the sea, and thence the chain runs south-west to Nallut, where the distance from the coast appears about ninety miles. The intermediate portions are Gharian, Yefrin,¹ and Nefusa, and this western part being known as "el Jebel,"

¹ The Beni Tefren of Læo Africanus (Hakluyt Society, 1896).

or "the mountain," is, no doubt, of a more truly mountainous character than that to the east.

It is, however, only the eastern end of the range that we must turn our attention to at present, for although not a few travellers have left behind them published accounts of journeys through the western divisions, we have at hand so little evidence of the existence of monuments of the senam type in these regions, that the only way is to treat them as if they did not exist. The extent of country in which my own researches have proved the senams to be present is something over sixty miles, that is, from Wadi Wif on the west to Lebda on the east; while from north to south, from the region called Jeabin at Fum Terr'gurt to Ghirrah on the south, is between fifteen and twenty miles.¹

The physical characteristics of this region are sufficiently peculiar to merit special notice. In the first place, the hill range is separated on the north from the sea, first by a district of gently undulating slopes, averaging, it would appear, some eight or nine miles in width, between which and the sea there lies a sandy and inhospitable waste which dies out to the east towards Khoms.

¹ It is, of course, quite impossible to say to what extent they exist outside these limits. My own journey in 1895 seemed to show that they died away towards Gharian; but they are too common in Ferjana and Ghirrah to come to an absolute stop there. The Tarhunis who travelled with me said that there were few senams south of here, so I venture to presume that the series dies out south of here.

The gentle slopes, which are inhabited in the same way and by the same people as the hills, are four to six hundred feet above sea level.

The traveller approaching the true range from the north, whether at Tarhuna or Gharian, cannot fail to be struck by its appearance. The hills are all nearly of the same level, and, instead of noting the prominent points in the usual way, the geographer finds it necessary to inquire the names of the various depressions which mark the outlets of the various wadis, or valleys, on to the lower slope. So marked is this wall-like appearance from Gharian to Tarhuna, that it is impossible to resist the inference that at one time this range of bluffs was washed by the waves of the Mediterranean; and that at one date both desert strip and fertile slopes were the bed of the sea. To the east, however, this appearance is much less marked, for here the country shelves off gradually from Jebel Msid (1320 feet) to the sea at Khoms, and there are neither the cliff-like hills nor the desert patch.

Although presenting from the north such an even and monotonous outline, the traveller who follows one of the wadis which penetrates them due south, will find a greater diversity of contour than he has been led to expect; for, some ten miles from their northern edge, they rise to a backbone of hills, varying from 1300 to 1600 feet above the sea, and consequently considerably higher than those to the north. This is the crest

or watershed of Tarhuna, and can be followed from Jebel Msid on the east, along the hills at the heads of Wadis Doga and Guman to Jebel bu-Tawil, from where it would appear to run to Khashm Aruf, a bold bluff which can be plainly seen from the roofs of Tripoli, to which it is indeed the nearest point in the hill range.

Taking their rise from this crest, and running to the sea, are a series of valleys which, although at the present day dry, or nearly so, during all except the winter months, are nevertheless valleys of erosion. Beginning on the west, we have Wadi Ismar, which is said to run out and join the fertile Wadi Majenin. Next comes the Wadi Libetr, and these two Wadis must be near, if one of them indeed be not identical with, the Wadi Melgha of our maps. Then Wadis Serret, Raml, Saghia, Doga, Dūghūn, Terr'gurt, and lastly Karathie.

The names of these wadis, which were supplied by a native of Tarhuna, must be received with caution; because it is not unusual among the Arabs to describe a wadi by the name of a district that it traverses instead of by its own, or when ignorant of any special name for a group of ruins, to call it by that of the tribe in whose territory it is situated.¹

How meagre our information on the subject of these watercourses has hitherto been, can be

¹ The names of Wadis Raml, Saghia, Doga, Terr'gurt, Dūghūn, and Guman are, however, certain.

seen from the fact that Ismar, Libetr, Sertr, Doga, Dūghūn, Guman, and Karathie appear on no map, and do not seem to have been noted by any traveller.¹



FIG. 25.—WADI TERR'GURT ON THE PLAIN, LOOKING NORTH.

Terr'gurt, on the other hand, is well known on the plain, because it forms a landmark to travellers who have travelled by the coast, but

¹ Kasr Doga at the head of the wadi of that name has, however, received abundant notice, having been visited by Barth, Von Bary, and Admiral Smyth. On the other hand, the Wadi Melgha (Lyons, *Melghra*), marked on most maps as the royal road or "strada reale" to Beni Ulid, has never been mentioned to me by the Tarhunis. It is possible that Melgha is only a district through which either Sertr Ismar or Libetr or Ismar passes.

it has never been followed into the hills.¹ For the same reason, the Wadis Raml, Msid, and one or two others are marked on the map at the coast line, although their directions on the plain and hills have never been ascertained.²

On the south side of the watershed, we come to a country of a different type. Here lies a

¹ *Terr'gurt*. This is a most difficult name to spell. It is the "Turot" of Della Cella, the "Terrugadt" of the Beecheys, and the "Terrugert" of Barth. In pronunciation the r's are somewhat rolled, and followed by a pause which is hardly represented by the letter "u." The pronunciation of the terminal consonants are unwriteable in English, being something between "dt" and "rt." Rae, *The Country of the Moors*, calls it Wadi Turbat.

² A great deal of confusion appears here also. In Barth's map between Legateh (Khoms) and Tripoli, we have (1) Wadi Gerim, 13 miles west; (2) Wadi Terrugert, 9 miles west of last (22 miles), and running from Jebel Msid, which is, of course, incorrect; (3) Wadi Msid, 5 miles west of Terrugert (27 miles); (4) Wadi Ruml, 4 miles west of Wadi Msid (31 miles).

The following are the distances of the same wadis at their outlets according to an inhabitant of Legateh (Khoms) in camel hours: (1) Wadi Gerim (small); (2) Wadi Bin Jabara, 6 hours (15 miles); (3) Wadi Terr'gurt, 8 hours (20 miles); (4) Wadi Msid, 13 hours (32 miles); (5) Wadi Raml, 16 hours (40 miles). Wadi Msid, it should be mentioned, is said to have no connection with Jebel Msid, nor does it run from its vicinity. Bin Jabara is Admiral Smyth's Benzbara. Barth mentions Wadi Bujafara, but says, "Smyth's Benzbara, which he seems to have confounded with Terrugert." Della Cella puts Msid 7 hours from Tajura. The tendency of all these wadis on leaving the hills seems to be to make a considerable bend east before reaching the sea.

barren upland treeless plateau, averaging, in the part through which I have travelled, about 1200 feet above sea level, and therefore considerably lower than the eminences along the watershed. Taking one's stand on one of the numerous ruin-capped "rases" or hillocks, and looking south, we can see that this dreary waste drops gradually, although it is relieved by numerous



FIG. 26.—WADI DAUN, LOOKING WEST.

low hill ranges. Away south-west, at a distance of over twenty miles, lie the Western Tarhuna hills, and beyond them those of Gharian; but between us and them the plain lies arid and ill-supplied with water.

If we travel south or east, however, we find, what is not apparent from looking over the plateau, that in these directions it is broken by various depressions with their watercourses

running east or south-east; and it is only on reaching these that we realize that the plateau itself is a component portion of the hill chain.

The main outlet of this system is the great Wadi Targelat, which, taking its rise at Menshi,¹ on the Tarhuna plateau, runs through the districts of Ghirrah, Mamurah, and Tahwaleh to the sea at Kam, about twelve miles south of Lebda. Into this, all wadis on the south side of the watershed, including the broad depression of Ueni, east of Jebel Msid, make their way. There is an intermediate system of smaller wadis which meets in the Kseia Plain to the west of Jebel Msid, from which there would appear to be an outlet both to the north and south; the latter falling into the Ueni and Targelat, and the former making its way either to Terr'gurt, or, by some other course, to the sea coast.

We thus get, in the small district we are treating of, a complete system of hydrography—a hill-country with its watershed, drained on one side by a series of independent stream courses and on the other by one large one, which rises in or near the district and receives the minor watercourses as tributaries. With this evidence before us we are in a fair position to inquire if history will help us in the task of identification.

In the first place we see a country, barren

¹ Some say, however, that the Targelat rises at Gharian; in which case, the wadi at Menshi is only a tributary.

to a degree, in the valleys of which water can barely be found after March, and the population of which is almost confined to a few tribes of shepherd Arabs, who build no houses but live in tents and earth holes. Yet in this arid sun-burnt country we find a large tract over which are scattered the ruins of places of worship so numerous, and evincing such skill, that at one time the land must have held a large and highly cultured population. Since this was the case, we cannot doubt that a great climatic change must have occurred. Treeless and riverless as it now is, the country could not support such a population, or foster such a civilization, as we find traces of in these ruins. Evidence tell us, too, that in Roman times the population was dense, for most of the senam sites are Romanized. The wells are probably of the same age in many instances, and Barth has told us how the Romans can be traced far into the desert by their monuments. A monument like the mausoleum at Kasr Doga would never have been erected here if the place was a wilderness. We may, indeed, be sure that in these days the now dry wadis ran with perennial streams, the wells were full of water, and the hills covered with forests of subtropical timber. The question is, When did this disafforesting, and consequent drying up of the land, take place? The answer is, I believe, that it commenced with the Arab invasion and went on until it was complete. It was the same

in Tunisia. It was the same in Morocco. The Arabs, in spite of their fine qualities and lofty religious aims, have been to North Africa like a cloud of locusts. They have taken no thought for the morrow, and they have turned Barbary from a garden into a wilderness.



FIG. 27.—THE ROMAN MAUSOLEUM AT KASR DOGA.

We have, in the writings of Pliny, Mela, Herodotus, Strabo, Scylax, Ptolemy, and Silius Italicus a vast mass of material relating to the geography of this coast; but, as is always the case, the study and comparison of them raises difficulties which it is extremely difficult to surpass. The points we get which cannot be doubted are, first, the existence of certain Libyan

tribes, of which accounts are extant in Herodotus and Ptolemy. Along the coast, between the two Syrtes, lay several towns of importance: Abrotonum (probably the same as Sabratha), Graphara, Leptis Magna, and, lastly, a town of Cinyps or Ciniphus, situated on a river and in a territory both bearing the same name.

Now the historians' accounts of these three or four cities alone are, as is the rule with ancient geographers, so vaguely worded that they have led to great differences of opinion on the part of our travellers and scholars as to their present identification. Fortunately into this question it is in no way germane to the object of this book to enter, for it is quite sufficient for us to know that there were four towns on the coast here, one of which, Leptis Magna, was a Sidonian colony¹ which ranked during the days of Carthage after it and Utica, and that a colony was founded at Cinyps by Dorieus the Spartan about 520 B.C.,² but was apparently soon abandoned. Oea (Tripoli) and Abrotonum, generally identified with Zuagha, to the west of Tripoli, were, it is believed, only Roman foundations, although some modern authors ascribe to them an earlier date.

In rear of these coast settlements the country was inhabited by Libyan tribes, of whom we find

¹ Sallust, *Jug.* xix. 78. It should be remembered that these Sidonian colonies on the Mid-African coast were pre-Carthaginian (Rawlinson, *Phoenicia*, p. 411).

² Herodotus, *Terpsichore*, 42.

many allusions scattered through the writings of our ancient authors; and although the location of these is, by the descriptions of different writers, rendered often obscure, we are not altogether without a clue in regard to this particular part of the coast.¹

Both Herodotus,² Pliny,³ and Lucan,⁴ mention the Nasamones, Garamantes, and Psylli, who, it is evident, inhabited the Syrtis coast and probably also the desert far to the south and south-east. There is, however, great difficulty in allocating them, although it is evident that the Nasamones extended far east, as their date harvest was at Augila, while they eventually occupied the territory of the Psylli, after their destruction in a sandstorm: and this territory has been considered to be the desert near Misrata, because the Garamantes only were interposed between them and the Macae. This position, however, is merely conjectural, because the territory of the Garamantes was no doubt very great,⁵ and also the wording of Herodotus is not sufficiently definite for us to be justified

¹ The Libyan tribes generally, Professor Sayce tells us, go, in the Egyptian inscriptions, under the name Ta-hennu. The likeness between this word and Tarhuna (طارحونه), though very likely a mere coincidence, may be worth noting.

² *Melpomene*, 168-177, 181-186.

³ Book v., chap. iv.

⁴ *Pharsalia*, Book ix.

⁵ Lucan even put Ammon in their territory. This writer's descriptions of the Nasamonian wreckers, and the whirlwinds of the Syrtis Major, are full of interest.

in drawing such a conclusion. Adjoining the Garamantes and the country of the Psylli, to the west, was the country of the Macae, and here we are on much firmer ground, for through their territory ran the river Cinyps, which all writers agree in identifying with the wadi which now joins the sea about twelve miles south-east of Leptis Magna. And if this identification remain unquestioned, that of the Tarhuna hills with their ancient ruins will follow.¹

¹ It may be useful here to summarize the evidence of ancient authorities and commentators as to the position of the Cinyps country.

Pliny (Book v., chap. iv.), in describing the coast between the two Syrtes, enumerates Oea, Cinyps, Neapolis, Graphara, Abrotonum, and Leptis Magna, and the order of these towns has led to a discussion by Della Cella (*Narrative of an Expedition from Tripoli to Egypt*, 1817), in which he tries to separate Neapolis from Leptis, a suggestion which has not generally received approval. And it follows if Neapolis and Leptis be the same, and that Abrotonum is represented by Zuagha to the west of Tripoli, that nothing can be deduced from the order.

Pomponius Mela (i. 7) puts it west of Leptis.

Ptolemy (Book iv., chap. iii.), indicates the river mouth fifteen miles west of Neapolis, but places its source among certain hills called Silius, Thizibius, and Zuchabari, and in another passage (iv. 6) he makes it take its rise at a Mount Giriris. He does not mention the *χαρίτων* of Herodotus. It should also be remembered that Ptolemy's Libyan tribes do not agree at all with those of other authors.

Herodotus. His evidence will be further discussed.

Silius Italicus (iii. 275) mentions the Cinyphian Macae, who had learned to pitch tents in the Phoenician manner.

Strabo, Scylax, and Ptolemy all put Cinyphus to the west

Adjoining the Macæ were a tribe called Gindanes, and in front of them on the sea (apparently the coast near Tripoli) Herodotus places the Lotophagi. Now the text of Herodotus is very clear and decisive on the subject of the Cinyps and its neighbourhood. He says, "The Macæ adjoin them (the Garamantes) on the sea coast westward: these shave their heads so as to leave a tuft, and allowing the middle hair to grow, they shave both sides close to the skin; in war they wear the skins of ostriches for defensive armour. *The river Cinyps flowing through their country from a hill called the Graces discharges itself into the sea. This Hill of the Graces (χαρ'των) is thickly covered with trees, though all the rest of Libya above mentioned is bare. From the sea to this hill is a distance of two hundred stadia*" (*Melpomene*, 175).¹

of the Cephalus Promontorium, which is considered to be the Ras or Cape at Misrata, the western boundary of Syrtis Major. The German commentator, Christopher Cellarius, places it to the east, which, however, as the Beecheys remark, may have been due to some historians putting the Lotophagi to the east; while Ptolemy places them near Cinyphus. The position of the latter, however, is given too diversely to base any theory on.

In the *Tabula Peutingeriana* it is placed between Leptis and Sugolin (Zliten).

¹ Cary's translation. But before the words "The River Cinyps" we find in the Greek Text, "according to these," so that Herodotus must have had the information from the Macæ.

A little later on he describes the district : "No part of Libya appears to me so good in fertility as to be compared with Asia or Europe, except only the district of Cinyps ; for the land bears the same name as the river, and is equal to the best land in the production of corn : nor is it at all like the rest of Libya ; for the soil is black and well watered by springs ; and it is neither affected at all by drought, nor is it injured by imbibing too much rain ; for rain falls in this part of Libya. The proportion of the produce of this land equals that of Babylon. The land also which the Euesperides occupy is good ; for when it yields its best it produces a hundred fold ; but that in Cinyps three hundred fold" (*Melpomene*, 198-9).

Now, about twelve miles south-east from the Leptis River along the coast, we come to a bold headland called on our charts Ras el-Tabia, but generally known to the inhabitants of the district as Ras el-Magro.¹ Immediately

¹There is an esparto funduk close to it, which is generally called Tabia. On the "ras" or headland are two tombs to holy men, one to Sidi Hamed el-Maghrebi, and the other to one Magro, from which the ras is now named. The latter is said to have been a Christian. The little bay with its anchorage is called on our charts Marsa Ugrah, which does not now seem to be known. It is just called Marsa or the harbour. Marsa Ugrah sounds like a confusion of "Marsa" and "Ras el Magro." In a map in George Sandys travels (Turkey, Greece, etc., 1673), I find the place marked P. Magra.

south of this is a broad fenny plain totally differing in character from the hills (which lie distant some four or five miles), and also from the sandy plain which adjoins it next to the sea on the north-west. Here the soil is black and evidently capable of great productiveness, though, from its morassy character, it maintains to this day a feverish and unhealthy character.¹ Across this district, at a distance of about two miles south-east of Ras el-Magro, there flows slowly into the sea a sluggish stream of water. It is apparently about forty paces in width at the mouth, so that it may really be called in some sort a river, and a most astonishing and strange sight in waterless Tripoli. It is this stream which has long been identified with the Cinyps.

Unfortunately all travellers are liable to error, and in the investigation of the Cinyps country two errors have been made by the explorers in the early part of this century, which have been received by subsequent inquirers and handed down to posterity as proved. These refer to the modern name of the wadi, and, what is far more important, to the distance at which it takes its rise from the sea.

In the first place, from Della Cella downwards, all travellers have called the wadi by the name

¹ Cf. the Cinyphian plagues (Lucan, ix. 787), and the Cinyphian watersnake (Ovid, *Met.* vii. 272).

of Kaam, or some variety,¹ which name (Kam) is that of the district it runs through, and not of the stream course. This is, indeed, an easy mistake to fall into, for the Arabs of the country use this form themselves, designating each part of a wadi from its district, and special questioning will only reveal the true name of the wadi. Thus in Targelat in the hills my people continually referred to the same wadi by the names of Ghirrah, Mamurah, and Tahwaleh, and it was only by special inquiry that I learnt the fact that the wadi was Targelat, and flowed to Kam. Afterwards, when at Kam, the natives all admitted that the wadi there was Targelat, and ran from either Tarhuna or Gharian, but which they hardly knew, owing, no doubt, to the wadi bifurcating near its source.²

¹ Della Cella : Uadi Quaam.

The Beecheys : Wadi el-Khahan.

Barth : Wadi Kaam.

Admiral Smyth, in his list of maritime positions : Khahan or Kanafa.

Smith's Dictionary : Wadi Khahan or Cinifo.

The Editor of Bohn's Translation of Pliny : Wady el-Quaham.

For the forms Kanafa or Cinifo I know no real authority.

² The following was the method of interrogation adopted at Kam :

Q. What is the name of this wadi?

A. *The wadi.*

Q. But (pointing to the plain) what is its name here?

A. (Pointing to the plain) Oh, that is all Kam.

The other mistake was far more serious, for it impeached the veracity of Herodotus or his copyists.

Della Cella, who was here in 1817, after commenting on the character of the country¹ and the information as to the source of the river, thinks that the *χαρίτων* should be looked for in the "last ramifications of the Goriano² (Gharian) chain . . . which preserve the character given them . . . as being covered with trees, and contrasting by their verdure with the scorched soil of Libya."

In the same year (1817) Admiral, then Captain, Smyth was on this coast surveying and excavating, but nothing was published by him concerning the Cinyps district. A few years later, in 1821-2, came the Beecheys on their

Q. Is Kam where the water runs, or all the country round?

A. Oh, the country round.

Q. Then what is the name of the watercourse?

A. The watercourse is Targelat.

This is quite clear, but shows the difficulty of getting accurate information. The fact is that the names of wadis are not of very great use to the people, except where, in the hills, they are dry. Here they are used as thoroughfares, and the names really refer to the routes.

¹ *Viaggio da Tripoli di Barberia alle Frontieri occidentali dell' Egitto*, fatto nel 1817, etc., etc. Genoa. 8vo. 1819. English translation, 1822, and a French one in 1840.

² By this he probably means the lowest slopes (with olive groves) of M'salata and Tarhuna. Most of the older travellers term the whole of the hill range Goriano.

great coast-surveying expedition,¹ and in their work the error is crystallized into shape. From the nature of their expedition these travellers arrived at Kam by the coast, and cast about to ascertain where was the source of the stream, which they knew by Herodotus should be 200 stadia, or about 20 miles, distant. They asked, no doubt, where Wadi Khahan (Kam) ended, and were told about four or five miles away, that is, where the Targelat leaves the lower hills for the plain. They then turned their telescopes on the hill range, and discerned a three-peaked hill, which they thought would well answer for Herodotus' Hill of the Graces. They noted, however, that the "Terhoona" range would agree with the 200 stadia, allowing "732 to a degree or $10\frac{1}{4}$ to a common English mile, which is the mean allowed by Major Rennel," but considered that the inferior ranges intervening between Tarhuna and the sea would be a barrier that the Cinyphus could not pass.

Unfortunately they found in some notes of Captain Smyth (which they publish) what they considered as conclusive and confirmatory evidence. This is as follows:

"Thence we crossed the Messalata hills, and

¹ *Proceedings of the Expedition to Explore the Northern Coast of Africa from Tripoli Eastward*, by Capt. F. W. Beechey and H. W. Beechey. London, 1828. This work should be in the hands of all interested in these regions. Their discussion of the Cinyphus will be found on pp. 64-79.

near the centre of one of the ramifications observed three slight eminences, which *I am inclined to think* must have been the tumuli of the Graces of ancient geographers, though but for the coincidence of their number I should scarcely have noticed them. They are about 340 feet in height, and nearly five miles from the coast, thus differing in distance from the ancient account of 200 stadia; but as the Cinypus actually rises here, the early manuscripts may have suffered from bad copyists."

Now what has added to this error is the fact that, although the wadi does not finish or take its rise at that distance, the perennial stream does, for at a distance of a few miles up there are springs, and above these the wadi is almost dry, except in storm seasons. No doubt it was these springs which always gave the Cinyps plain its exceptional fertility; but there is not the least reason to doubt that in ancient days the upper districts of the Targelat and all the wadis of the hills ran with water all the year.¹

The results therefore of identifying the Targelat as the Cinyps are twofold. First, we can

¹ Barth gives the name "El Oued el-Mgar el-Grin" to the stream, not, it should be noticed, the wadi, which he calls Kaam. For the ruins in the Kaam district, consisting of remains of dams and aqueducts, roads, and a causeway or bridge, see Della Cella, Beechey, and Barth (*Travels in Northern Africa*, 1. 81); also Borsari, *Geografia Etnologica e Storica della Tripolitania Cyrenaica e Fezzan Napoli*, 1888, the best modern work on Tripoli.

see that either some particular eminences in Tarhuna were known as *χαρίτων*, in the days of Herodotus, or, as I venture to think more probable, that the whole of the range filled with ancient sites carried, among the civilized population of the coast, this appellation; and, secondly, that the charge of inaccuracy against Herodotus or his copyists on this point may be removed.



FIG. 28.—ROMAN DAM IN WADI DAUN.

Now, whether the stadium of Herodotus be taken at Major Rennel's calculation of $10\frac{1}{4}$ to a common English mile, or the ordinary calculation of one hundred Greek paces, of 6 feet and about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch each, matters but little; for it is quite immaterial to the case whether the 200

stadia are $19\frac{1}{2}$ or $22\frac{2}{3}$ English miles. For the distance from Kam to the upper part of Targelat, say at Ghirrah, is much greater, and it is quite apparent that this calculation must have been made, not from the actual wadi head, but from the point it issued from the upper hills. So that if we measure off about twenty miles from the coast at Kam we will find the point of our compass resting just about where the range commences its slope to the sea, and at the place where the Wadi Ueni, running from behind Jebel Msid of M'salata, probably joins the Targelat; and this point was apparently considered by the geographers of the day the source of the Cinyphus, and presumably the hill range from which it came further west, the Hill of the Graces.

As for the wooded character of the country as mentioned by Herodotus, it would appear that this was applied to country nearer the sea, which may be taken as the Cinyps country proper; but there is ample evidence that at one time the hill range itself was totally different in ancient days to what it is at present, and this question is discussed at length in a different section.

SECTION IV.

THE SENAMS AND THEIR STORY.

BEFORE entering into a detailed account of the megalithic ruins, and discussing the evidence of their origin, the reader should know the meaning and application of the word *senam*. This term, which is good Arabic for "idol," is used by the natives of the hill districts; first, for certain megalithic door-like structures of dressed stone, which are the most characteristic features of the ruined sites; secondly, and more broadly, they apply it to any site where such a structure still stands. Where, however, these structures are fallen or non-existent, the Arabs generally term the site Beni-gedim or "old buildings," and this, as might be expected, they apply without distinction whether they refer to a group of purely Roman ruins, or to one which from its character may more properly be classed with those of the *senam* type.¹ In the

¹The names attached to the various sites in the detailed description and upon the map are in most cases those given

following pages the word will be used in both of these senses, and also for convenience for all sites of the same class, where the megalithic senams themselves are non-existent or destroyed.

The total number of sites visited in 1895 and 1896 was about seventy-six, and of these, as will be seen from the detailed description, a very large proportion contained features of the senam type. Under the circumstances in which my journeys were undertaken, it was quite impossible to examine with great minuteness, or to plan with accuracy the ruins visited, and it is needless to say that excavations were even more out of the question. Consequently the reader should understand that all the plans of the sites found in this book are the result of paced measurements, checked occasionally by measurements with the tape, but claiming no degree of precision.¹ In rectangular ruins, such as we find here, such

me by my guide ; and some of these being to my knowledge the names of the tribes in the territory of which they are situated, or of the nearest prominent feature in the landscape, may perhaps be found by future investigation not to be universally recognized. Travellers should however remember that it is not always expedient to inquire of such matters from the local population, and with the help of my descriptions and observations all should be capable of identification.

¹ The plans, being done at different times, are plotted somewhat differently.

In the plans of Senams el-Shuaud, Bu Saiedeh, and Aref, the chief measurements were done by tape, and the minor ones by pacing.

In all the others the measurements were almost all taken

surveys are sufficient to convey a very fair idea of the sites, and as the north point has in most cases been fixed by the prismatic compass, the details I am able to place before the public cannot I think fail to be of considerable value until the Turkish Government will offer facilities to the scientific world to make more systematic examinations.

Although it would appear that the series of senams are to be found almost everywhere within the limits of the country traversed, it may be of interest to note the actual districts in which they were found :

1. In the Wadi Doga.
2. In the Wadi Terr'gurt, which runs parallel to the last.
3. In the plain to the north of Fum Terr'gurt.
4. On the Tarhuna plateau.
5. In the high broken ground in Western Tarhuna where it joins Gharian.
6. The Ferjana plateau, and the Ghirrah and Mamurah districts to the south through which passes the upper course of Wadi Targelat.
7. On the Wadis Kseia and Daun.
8. On the slopes from Kusabat in M'salata to the ruins of Leptis Magna inclusive.

by pacing, and in the scale accompanying them a pace has been treated as three feet, probably rather too much.

In the plans of Senam Semana (Terr'gurt) and Henshir el-Meadi, the scale has been laid down to paces.

Of these districts, the Tarhuna plateau has perhaps the most numerous remains, but those observed in the Wadis Doga and Terr'gurt have upon the whole the most remarkable features, and are perhaps the best preserved. In the high ground adjoining Gharian they appear less numerous, but my Arab attendants, who accompanied me in that district, had less acquaintance with it than the country further east. The finest trilithonic senams are found in the Kseia, at el-Gharabah, and Bu-Mateereh, while east of this from M'salata to Khoms, the sites, though numerous, are very ill-preserved, which is perhaps due to the greater density of the Roman population in ancient times.

The sites chosen for the senams have generally the same character. They are seldom or never to be found on the summits of the higher hills even when placed in their vicinity, and it is nearly as rare to find them on the lower levels. But wherever there is a gentle eminence upon the plain, or where we find a sunny hillock rising at the base of the higher ground, there as a rule do we find the ruined senams. Sometimes they stand upon a slope, but more often they cap the eminence, so that looking across the country in some districts, every hillock seems crowned with a crumbling mass of stones, or with a gaunt megalithic monument showing black against the sky. In some parts these sites are so numerous that it was found possible

only to visit those which my guide described as best preserved.

Character of the Ruins. As might be expected, the sites, while varying greatly in detail, group themselves all under a few types, between which the analogy is sufficient to prove them all of a common origin. The persistence of certain features throughout the series is indeed one of the most remarkable points, and may be taken



FIG. 29.—SENAM EL-MEGAGERAH.

as conclusive evidence of the original use of the structures, even if they fail to cast much light on the period of construction. In every case we find some or all of the following features:

1. Rectangular enclosures of good ashlar masonry, often of large size and subdivided.
2. A subdivision of this enclosure by square columns.
3. Megalithic gate-like erections, always placed in or close to the walls of the enclosure.

4. Altars.
5. Stones of obscure use, hereafter called stones of the Semana type, from their having been first observed at Kasr Semana (Doga).
6. Roman work.
7. Sculptures.
8. Graffiti.
9. Castle-like buildings.
10. Ditched enclosures.

The Enclosures. The enclosures vary considerably in dimensions, but as the walls are in most cases very ruinous, the actual measurements are not always easy to determine. Moreover, there are often foundations of walls lying outside and parallel to the main enclosures, and nothing short of excavation would reveal what the connection was. The plans show that, in the more important sites, the enclosed space varied on the longer axis between about 70 and 250 feet, and that, as a rule, one side was considerably longer than the other.

Although in most cases the walls are ruinous and destroyed nearly to ground level, a good many instances have been noted where large blocks of masonry stand to a considerable height, and special mention of these will be found in the descriptive list of the sites. In nearly all these the masonry is very good, the stones being of large size, and beautifully and accurately squared and dressed. As a rule, there is neither plinth,

offset, nor moulding of any kind ; but in a good many instances the most superficial examination will reveal the fact that mortar has been employed for bedding the courses. There is, however, every reason to believe that these walls are part of the original work, although the character of the masonry is in many instances as good or



FIG. 30.—SENAM BU-MATEENEH.

better than Roman work, and might in some cases be considered so, were it not that the senams themselves, which, whatever their date, will not, I think, be maintained by any one to be Roman, often show work practically identical in character. Moreover, the way in which the senams are associated with the plan of the enclosures (as will hereafter be noted) disfavours any idea that they belong to a different period.

What height the enclosure walls have originally stood is now very difficult to decide. On most of the sites there is a quantity of material lying about, which is debris from the destroyed walls.



FIG. 31.—SENAM BU-SAMIDA (GHIRRAH).

At Senam Aref a fine block of masonry still stands, 14 feet in height, and similar blocks are seen elsewhere.¹ At Senam el-Nejm there

¹S. Atershan in Wadi Terr'gurt, and S. el-Rueni in Ghirrah mta Targelat.

is a mass of fine masonry leaning against the complete senam, which is apparently original, and the same thing can be seen at Senam bu-Samida in Ghirrah mta Targelat.



FIG. 32.—MASONRY AT SENAM ATERSHAN MŪSBĀH BŪKHALIF.

In some cases, as at Kasr Fasgha above the senam, and at Henshir Aulad Ali, there are portions of rubble walling bedded in mortar. I am disinclined to believe that in any case this belongs to the senam period.

These enclosures have almost invariably been subdivided in a very curious way. In most of the better preserved sites we find lines of per-

fectly plain square columnar stones, varying from 2 to 6 feet in height, and about 18 inches square, crossing the greater enclosures at right angles. At the remarkable site of Senam Semana (Terr'gurt) these stand in a line parallel with and before the altars. The wide spaces these columns are distributed over render it most improbable that they were generally intended to support a roof of masonry; but there are a few instances where they support capitals, and in these cases, which will be further referred to, there is good reason to think that some kind of roof was in use.

The Senams. The senams are the most characteristic feature in the ruins of the district, and the sites where they do not exist either standing or fallen are comparatively few. They consist of massive megalithic door-like structures, sometimes, but by no means universally, trilithonic, usually placed in or close to the external enclosure walls on one or more sides, and consequently not orientated. They vary in height from 6 feet to 15 feet; and in those in which the upright jambs are not monoliths, we find the construction varied. In some cases we see but one great block interposed between the monolithic uprights and the lintels.¹ These blocks are often nearly uniform with the columns below, but more commonly they

¹ As at Kom es-Las, el-Jereh, Henshir el-Mohammed, and Henshir el-Naimeh. The senams at Kom Nasr, and Ghirrah el-Bir are composite, one jamb only being monolithic.

project either outwards in the same plane as the senam itself, or at right angles to it; but in the latter case the projection is invariably on the side away from the enclosure.



FIG. 33.—SENAM EL-KHAB (M'SALATA).

In other cases there are two blocks interposed on either side,¹ and in some of these the

¹ El-Aref, Bu-Hamida, and el-Nejm. Ferjana No. 1 is composite, only one jamb having two blocks.

upper blocks project outward, and the lower ones forward; in yet others both project forward, while in some instances they are not uniform. Lastly, in a few cases, we find the jambs built up of several stones, which, in examples like the senams at Bu-Samida and



FIG. 34.—SENAM AREF.

Kasr Fasgha, project alternately outwards, and, at Kasr Fasgha, the stone being beautifully finished, this style gives the senam a much more civilized appearance than the simple trilithonic form.¹

¹ See Kasr Semana (Doga), Bu-Samida, and Kasr Fasgha. Senam Terr'gurt has three blocks between jamb and lintel.

To support the great weight of the senams, they rest on footing stones embedded in the earth. These no doubt exist in all cases, though often turfed over. They vary somewhat, but all agree in being cut to receive the bases of the

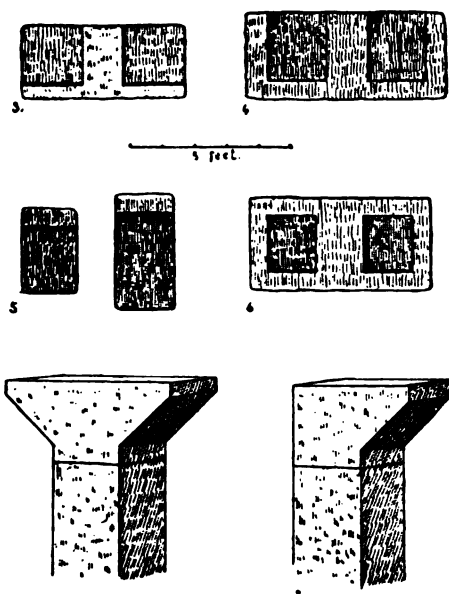


FIG. 35.—1 and 2, FORMS OF CAPITALS AT SENAM AREF.

FOOTING STONES; 3, Kom Nasr; 4, Ferjana No. 2; 5, Senam el-Bughlah;
6, Usual type.

jamb. The depth they are cut is generally under half an inch, but in some cases it is deeper. At Ferjana No. 2 the base of the jamb is joggled out on one side to fit the footing stone; and at Senam el-Bughlah we find two stones of different height, one for each

jamb.¹ But the most remarkable feature in the senams are the square holes found in every example. They are of two kinds: *lateral*, by which is meant square holes 5 in. to 7 in. in diameter, cut in the inner sides of the senam sides, either right through or only half-way.



FIG. 36.—SENAM AT SHAAHBET EL-SHUAUD.

Generally they are 2 feet apart, and are two or three in number in either jamb; those on one side being perforated through, while those on the opposite side go only half-way. They vary in number and position, though it is

¹ Perrot and Chipiez (*Hist. of Art in Phoenicia*, p. 285) engrave a stone, exactly like one of these footing stones, from the temple of Golgos, which they call a pedestal for statues.

common to find the lowest about 2 feet above ground level. In only four instances have these holes been observed to be entirely absent.¹



FIG. 37.—SENAM AT KOM ES-LAS.

Besides these *lateral* holes there are others which I must term *angle-* or *corner-cut* holes. These are square-cut cavities on the enclosure side of the senam at the inner angles of the jambs. Like the *lateral* holes they vary much

¹ Kasr Semana, Ferjana No. 1, el-Hazem, and a broken senam at Henshir el-Mohammed. At Bu-Hamida, where there are four *lateral* holes, the two lowest on each side go right through.

in position and number, and, in a few cases, are entirely absent, although in every senam there are either *lateral* or *corner-cut* holes. Sometimes they are only in the upper part,¹ in others only in the lower,² while, again, they are sometimes equally distributed the whole height. It is common to find them at the junction of the main jambstone with the upper blocks, or at that of the upper blocks with the lintel, when they are partly cut in the two stones.³

Besides these holes we sometimes find two square holes in or near the capstone on the side facing the enclosure; and these are usually of smaller size than the angle-cut holes.⁴

The width of the space between the senam jambs is one of the most noticeable features, because the average for twelve of the chief senams is only $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the widest being 20 inches and the narrowest only 13 inches. A senam at Henshir el-Mohammed measures 23 inches, but there are indications that one jamb is an ancient restoration.

Another thing to be observed is the method in which the stones of the senams are dressed. The blocks are always quarried and squared,

¹ Aref.

² Kasr Doga.

³ At Gharabah, where they are cut from front to back so as to be "throughs."

⁴ On the lintel over the space between the jambs at El-Nejm, Bu-Mateereh, and Terr'gurt; and in the top jamb blocks at Ferjana No. 1 and Kasr Fasgha.

but, in the majority of cases, the surface of the stone on one side (that facing from the enclosure) is left comparatively rough, while the side facing the enclosure, and the inner faces of the jambs,



FIG. 38.—SENAM AT KOM NASR.

are carefully tooled and dressed. In a few cases nearly the same amount of care has been bestowed on all the sides, giving the monument a much more regular and less primitive appear-

ance.¹ There is every gradation between these two extremes.

There is only one instance in which a senam has any sort of carved design on it, but as there is a small series of carvings of the same character found on masonry, this will be discussed elsewhere.

There are, however, in a few senams a line of shallow square incisions cut in a row down the edge of the jamb. These are, in all probability, the incisions made for the wedges in quarrying.

There are, occasionally, appearances that the senams were restored in ancient times. Thus, at Senam el-Bughlah, we find a capstone formed of part of an ancient senam jamb; while at Kasr Semana (Doga) one of the jamb stones has two angle-cut holes, and one being at the outer edge, the stone has apparently served in the same capacity in an older senam. At Henshir el-Mohammed, one jamb lacks the corner-cut hole of its *vis-à-vis*, and is of such meagre dimensions compared to its fellow, that we may conclude that this is also a restoration. The unusual width of the space between the jambs points to the same thing.

The Altars. These exist at a very large proportion of the senam sites; and it appears probable that, where they are not to be seen, they have once existed, or still lie hidden beneath the turf.

¹ As at El-Nejm and Bu-Mateereh.

These altars are large slabs of stone lying generally flush with the earth, and, when *in situ*, directly in front of the senam itself. Their surface measurement is generally 6 feet to 8 feet square, but with a projection at one side. On the surface is cut a square or round groove or channel, 4 or 5 inches wide, and from this run

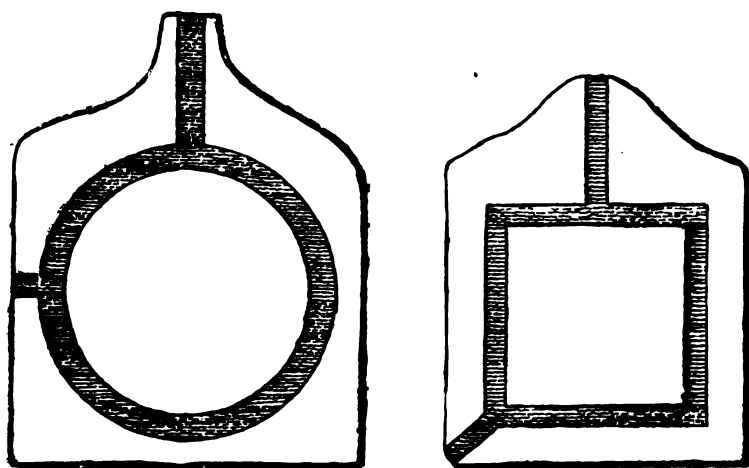


FIG. 39.—ALTARS AT SENAM EL-RAGUD AND FERJANA.

two branch channels, one to the end of the projection, and the other to a side or corner. In all cases, the spout-like projection is turned away from the senam towards the enclosure.¹

The Semana Stones. A series of stones found very commonly on the sites have so puzzling a

¹On some of these are cut large bowl-like cavities ; but these, the Arabs say, have been made by the Arabs for the manufacture of olive oil.

character that, in default of any reasonable conjecture as to their use, I have named them the "Semana" type, from their having been first observed at Kasr Semana in Wadi Doga. They are of an oblong square shape, are carefully dressed, and measure usually 5 feet to 7 feet in length, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width. Their height is usually 2 feet to 3 feet.

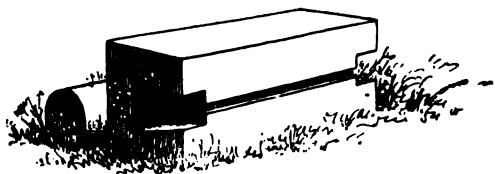


FIG. 40.—STONE OF UNKNOWN USE AT KASR SEMANA.

In every case we find at each end a portion of the stone cut out about half, or more than half, the depth of the stone. This incision widens towards the bottom, and has the appearance of a joggle or lewis hole. In most cases the depth of the hole from the end of the stone is 8 inches to a foot. There appears, however, to be considerable variation, both in the dimensions of the stones themselves and of the cuttings.

These holes are always connected by a straight channel cut along the centre of the top of the stone from end to end.

What the original use of these stones was, is quite obscure, and the only possible clue that now remains is in the fact that there is little doubt as to their proper position in the enclosure. For

although numbers are evidently displaced, there is quite a series which lie symmetrically before the altars and in a line with them and the senams.¹ The peculiar character of the incisions has suggested to friends to whom I have shown both drawings and plans that they were for joggling or fastening them to other stones; but a feature about the Semana stones is that whether *in situ* or not they generally lie clear of other masonry. The channel renders their use even more obscure.²



FIG. 41.—STONE BOWL (? LAVER), FERJANA.

Lavers. There is one unique object which is best mentioned here. It is a huge stone bowl, in the bottom of which is a raised boss, and the diameter of which from lip to lip is 4 feet. It lies tilted on one side at Ferjana (Senam No. 4), and is the only object of the sort noticed. It

¹ As at Semana (Terr'gurt), S. Terr'gurt, and Ferjana No. 8.

² At Senam el-Bir is one of these stones turned upside down, and the under side shows grooves and pit markings. It is, however, almost certain that these are of later date. It is noticeable that this example is only 10 inches thick, and that the end incisions go right through, so that it is probable the stone has been split laterally, and that what remains is but half.

seems fair to assume that it is connected with the ritual of the temple, and may perhaps be similar in origin to the lavers of the Tabernacle and of the Temple of Solomon. Parallels may be also found in the vessel for ablution found by Cesnola at Golgos, and in the great Amathus vase.¹

Sculptures. In all there were found five carvings in relief on the senam sites, and although there appears to be Roman influence both in treatment and subject, they must be considered with the senams, because they afford some evidence as to date, and may give some indication as to the rites observed at the senams.

The first is cut on a panel on one side of a square block lying among the ruins at Henshir Maagel, a typical site, with the usual enclosures, senams, and altar. The panel measures about 16 inches by 24 inches. The subject is a phallic form represented as a two-legged animal, beneath which are two vague ovate forms. The carving is boldly cut, and enclosed within a square border of distinctly Roman character, and from the undressed condition of all sides of the stone except the front, it appears that the stone was originally built into a wall.

At the small building called Kasr Zuguseh, in Ferjana, two carved stones are built into the wall, and from the character of the masonry it seems likely that] they are *in situ*. The most

¹ See Perrot and Chipiez, *Art of Phoenicia*, p. 290.

curious, at the south-east corner, faces to the south. On this stone we find in the upper part a phallic bird-like form, below which are two

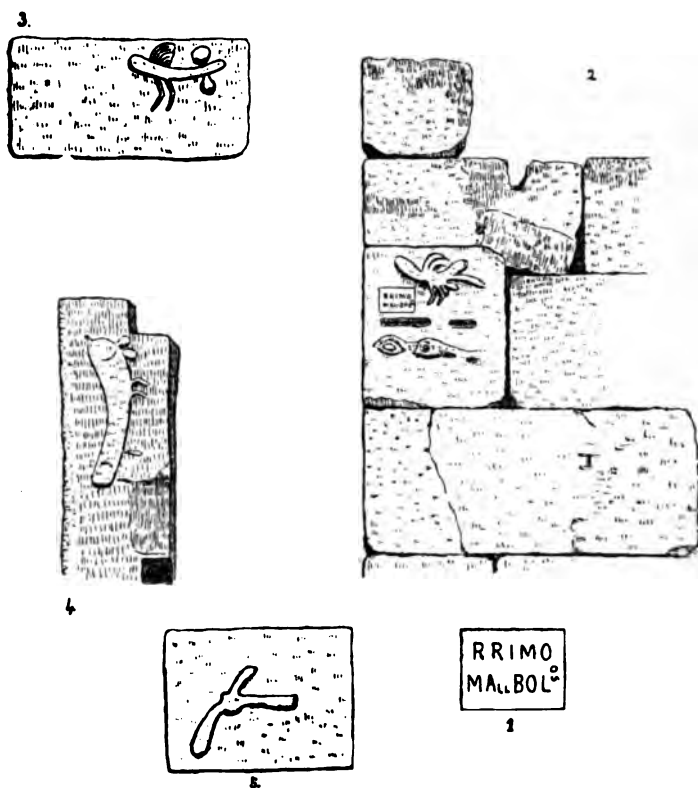


FIG. 42.—SCULPTURED STONES.

1, 2, Kasr Zuguseh, south-east corner; 3, Kasr Zuguseh, north-west corner;
4, Senam el-Gharabah (on jamb); 5, Senam el-Ruani (on masonry).

straight deep incisions, looking like slits in letter boxes, and below these, two strange ovate shapes, which may be representations of the human eye, of fish, or are possibly symbolical of the female

principle. Below the bird's head is a small panel, on which is neatly cut in Roman letters :

RRIMO
MALLBOLꜛ

The carving at the north-west corner is of the same character, representing a legged and winged insect-like form.

On the front of the summit of the fine trilithonic Senam el-Gharabah, we find a sculpture very much akin in subject. Here we find an elongated phallic form with two legs, which is represented head downwards as if descending into the earth. There can be hardly any doubt that this sculpture is original, as it is cut in bold relief on the surface of the stone, which is level and even from top to bottom, and exhibits exactly the same character of tooling as the rest of the senam. If therefore all these sculptures are of Roman date (not necessarily Roman) the importance of this example is manifest.¹

At Senam el-Ruani is a small sculptured stone built into a mass of masonry standing at the corner of the ruined enclosure. Although the form here does not take any animal shape, it is of the same character.

The bearings of these sculptures on the origin and use of the senams will be discussed later on,

¹ This is the trilithon shown in Barth, where the sculpture is noticed but the character not recognized.

but at this point it may be as well to tabulate the evidence they afford.

1. A symbolical phallic form carved on a trilithonic senam.
2. Similar carvings on masonry apparently of the true senam character.
3. The Roman influence apparent in the carvings.
4. The inscription in Roman characters. Concerning the meaning of this the likeness may be noted between the first word and Malakbelus, or Malachbel (Molech Baal), an African as well as Syrian form of the sun god.¹

Graffiti. Besides these sculptures, rough designs are often found upon the dressed face of the senams themselves. Some are Arab inscriptions and others are probably tribal markings, such as those figured on p. 161 of the Beecheys' work on the Tripoli coast. Among them we find varieties of the cross, such as the plain cross with limbs of uniform length, a cross within a square, a cross surmounting a circle, and a plain "tau" cross. Others show a horizontal line over three perpendicular ones, and two circles connected by a straight line: also the in-

¹ The other word, RRIMO, is also obscure. A speaker at the British Association suggested its identity with Rimmon (Rammanu), the Assyrian wind and storm god, identified in Syria with Hadad, the sun god. (See Sayce, *Origin and Growth of Religion*.)

tersecting triangles surrounded by an incomplete circle, which is the mystic Solomon's seal. There are other less simple forms, and a few showing armed figures and a camel. Perhaps

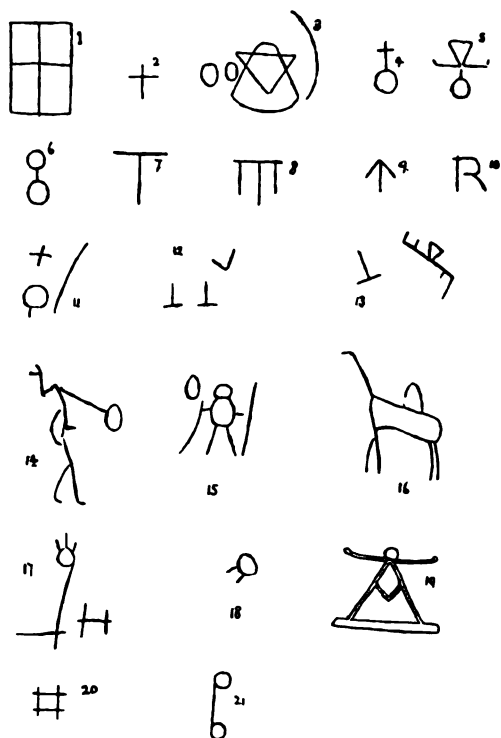


FIG. 43.—GRAFFITI.

1, 2, Senam Bu-Hamida; 3, 14-16, 18, Senam el-Nejm; 4-8, 20, 21, Senam el-Gharabah; 9-11, 17, Senam el-Ruani; 12, 13, Senam in Ferjana; 19, Kasr Kerker (Barth).

the most interesting is a triangle surmounting a circle, between which is a horizontal line turned up at both ends. If we reverse this example, we have the Tanith symbol so well known from

its appearance on the tablets of Carthage. A figure of this sort with a centaur was found by Barth cut on the walls of Kasr Kerker in M'salata.¹

These graffiti are also worth comparing with the Libyan and Numidian characters found sometimes associated in Tunisia and Algeria with Roman inscriptions; and also with the modern Tuarik alphabet.²

Roman Work. The Romanization of the sites is a very important and interesting question, but it is one on which, in the absence of excavation, it is by no means easy to afford accurate information. The result of the examination made at all the sites was a feeling that a very large proportion had been utilized, and to some extent altered, by the Romans. I found it, however (strange as it may seem), very difficult to decide what was purely Roman work and what was to

¹ *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, 1857, I. 79.

The Tanith symbol is supposed to be a crude representation of the sacred cone with head and arms surmounting it. In the votive *stèle* of Carthage the arms turn up at the ends, but on a Maltese coin and a Carthaginian token they turn down as in the senam figure. See Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Phœnicia*, Vol. I. 79-80, 302; Vol. II., p. 67. In one of those figured, the cone and arms are wonderfully like a senam, except that the legs "straddle."

² I must refer the reader to General Faidherbe's *Collection complète des Inscriptions Numidiques (Libyques)*, Paris, 1870; and Judas, *Sur quelques Épitaphes Libyques et Latino-Libyques*, Paris, 1870, for this subject.

be ascribed to the race who built the senams. Masonry such as was to be seen at Senams Aref, Atershan, and Ruani might possibly be Roman, but the jambs of such senams as Kasr Fasgha, built in the same style, showed that it had as good or better title to be considered



FIG. 44.—SENAM KASR FASGHA.

senam work. Bases, capitals, and shafts of columns found on many sites left no doubt as to the presence of the Romans, but the difficulty lay in deciding whether, and to what extent, the plan of the sites had been altered. It is remarkable that, although so many senams are still standing, not a single instance was observed of

a Roman column or capital in position, although fallen fragments were numerous. On the whole, it would seem that the greater part of the fine ashlar masonry, so frequently occurring in the enclosure walls, is the work of the senam



FIG. 45.—MASONRY AT SENAM AREF (WITH GRAFFITI).

builders,¹ while in those instances in which rubble is found, as in the mass on the summit of

¹This, of course, does not prove that the builders were pre-Roman, or that they were not partly Romanized. The characteristic feature of all the masonry associated with the senams is the alternation of long and short stones (long and short work), which is hardly typical of Roman masonry. Compare Zuguseh, Aref, and Atershan, with Naimeh.

Senam Kasr Fasgha, and the filling in of the lines of square columns at Senam Aulad Ali, it is purely Roman. It should be noticed that the (senam?) ashlar is frequently bedded in mortar.

The question is however very difficult, and it is much to be regretted that the behaviour of the Arabs prevented my taking any photographs at the site which was perhaps the most calculated of all to throw light on the subject. This was

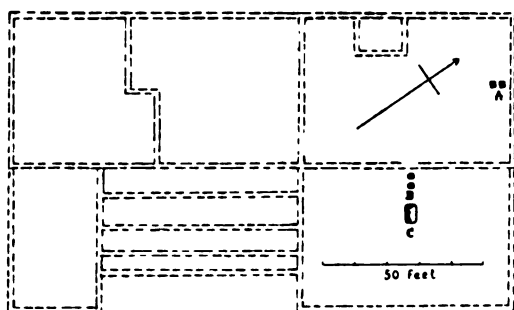


FIG. 46.—FERJANA, SENAM NO. 1.

Henshir el-Meadi in Terr'gurt, where senams and the square columns were associated with fine ashlar masonry, wide gateways, and even fragments of archways, so that it is to be hoped that some day it will be possible to visit and carefully study this interesting example. For there is so much more undoubted Roman work preserved at this site than elsewhere, that here, if anywhere, the true usage of the senams by the Romans can be investigated. Some remark-

able evidence, too, of this Roman adoption is found in certain oblong bath-like cavities in the ground, finished always with cement filled in with minute portions of broken brick—the Roman *opus signinum*. These are not uncommon,¹ and generally occur in close proximity to a senam; and there is every reason to think that they were used by the Romans in some way in connection with the ritual of the sites. The same remark applies to the structure supposed to be a Roman conduit at Aref.

Ditched Enclosures. It should not be omitted to notice, that some of the senams are placed within a wide ditch,² and that there are other cases in which there are similar ditched enclosures, where no senams are to be seen above ground. It is difficult to say what the object of these were. The sites at el-Jereh, Kom el-Saud, and Ras el-Benaieh, appear to be altogether Roman, and were perhaps small fortified posts. In the other cases it seems possible that the ditches were due to the same people, although at Senam Bu-Saiedeh the great ditch gives the observer the idea that it is original, although an unusual feature. But this is a point to be decided only by careful investigation on the spot. An interesting feature is seen at

¹ Kasr Doga, El-Bughlah, Ferjana Nos. 1 and 2, etc.

² As at Bu-Saiedeh, Sajit el-Haj Ibrahim (28 paces in diameter), Bu-Ajeneh (16 paces diameter), and near Ras el-Aswad (50 paces × 30 paces).

Henshir el-Naimeh, and at a site at the base of Jebel Msid (M'salata), where senams can be seen protruding from blocks of ruins which are almost certainly Roman. Here there is distinct evidence that sometimes the senams were incorporated intact in Roman edifices.



FIG. 47.—KASR ZUGUSEH.

Castle-like Edifices. There are one or two other edifices which call for mention, although their relation to the senams is hardly ascertained. These are small, castle-like buildings,

which probably careful search would show to be more numerous than they appear to be.

At Kasr Gharaedamish in Doga there is a small, well-built, castle-like structure of dressed stone situated on an eminence commanding the valley. In the walls are apparently portions of broken senam jambs. Kasr Zuguseh is a similar structure (44 feet by 50 feet) and constructed of masonry similar to that of the senam enclosures. There is neither plinth, moulding, nor offset, but here again we find in the walls what appear to be broken senam jambs. The sculptures here have been already described. Both these places have the appearance of small castlets, both stand near senams, and neither are characteristically Roman. The evidence of the broken senams in the walls does not show that they were erected subsequently to the senams, for the construction of these may have gone on for a lengthened period; but it perhaps militates against such a theory if we suppose that the senams themselves were intimately connected with the most sacred rites of the people who built them.

The stone used in the senams is usually limestone, often with cherty nodules. With this stone which seems hard enough, the senam builders could do what they chose. Whether their tools were bronze or iron, they were good enough to dress with perfect accuracy the stone face; but those who have seen the masons of

Malta cutting the fine stone of that country with a light axe, will remember that some stone, hard enough after long exposure to the air, is soft when quarried.¹

It is somewhat remarkable that all through the hill district no trace of ancient quarries were observed, although there are large excavations of this character to the west of Tripoli on the coast. Modern quarries cannot be expected in a land where the population are tent dwellers and troglodytes.²

Another thing to be noticed is the use of what has been called carpentry forms in the senams. The peculiar type of capital as seen at Aref and Semana (Terr'gurt) is essentially of this order. The use of square-cut holes in the senam jambs instead of circular ones, which to early races is the natural way to perforate stone, and the very shape of the senams themselves, points to a prior knowledge and use of wooden architecture. This leads to another question. How is it that in a country now treeless, watered but by occasional wells, and supporting a scanty nomad race of tribesmen, we find

¹ I do not think, however, the senam stone even when fresh quarried would be anything like the softness of the Malta stone.

² In the upper part of Wadi Guman the horizontal limestone strata projects in such a way that stones suitable for senams could be quarried off the surface; but it is a question if stone thus exposed to the climate would be suitable for working.

traces of a dense population, whose high places capped every hillock, and whose architecture in



FIG. 48.—COLUMNS WITH CAPITALS AT SENAM SEMANA (TERR'GURT).

stone sprang apparently from an earlier one in wood?

The answer is not far to seek. A great change in climate has since those days happened, due probably to the improvidence of the Muslim invaders. In earlier days here, as throughout much of North Africa, we need not doubt that

water was fairly abundant, and the now barren hills clothed to some extent with groves and woods.¹ This is all indicated by the evidences of dense population in former days, even, it would appear, in the stone age.²

The condition of the senam sites at the present day is sufficiently ruinous, but in some ways it is extraordinary how much is preserved. The first thing that strikes the traveller is the number of the senams themselves which remain either complete or with their jambs standing. When we compare with this, the fact that out of the great number of fragments of Roman columns which exist in or near the senam sites, not one instance was noticed in which the smallest piece of a shaft remained *in situ*, it inclines us to fancy that something more than accident has helped to preserve them. That the Romans preserved them there is no doubt, and no reason to be astonished; but that the Arabs, the race of that prophet whose iconoclastic zeal was bent on extirpating idolatry in any form to the ends of the earth, should in

¹ "They sacrifice upon the tops of mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks and poplars and elms, because the shadow thereof is good: therefore your daughters shall commit whoredom, and your spouses shall commit adultery" (*Hosea* iv. 13).

² Both in the desert round Tripoli and in the hills I have found numerous worked flints. Among the better examples are two well-worked arrow heads. Roughly formed scrapers and flint knives are more common.

any way preserve them, or even regard them with superstitious respect, appears most strange. For the Arabs now and always have considered these great megalithic structures as idols, and so do they call them. What adds to the mystery is that, although extremely difficult to build, nothing could be easier to upset than a senam. It has been already noticed that on the dressed side of the senams themselves rude Arabic inscriptions are to be found, and these should be copied and read. A careful examination of the other rude graffiti, the date of which is doubtful, might perhaps prove many of them of Arab or Berber origin.

But, if all these scratchings are comparatively recent, it hardly can be taken as proof of any special regard or superstitious respect for the senams. The wild people of Tarhuna, whose artistic feelings would, no doubt, like all semi-barbarous peoples, yearn for an outlet, would find no flat surface to draw upon except the dressed masonry of these monuments, and would doubtless thus use them.

While on this subject, it is necessary perhaps to say a few words about the dot markings and pittings which are found abundantly in the ruins. These are of two sorts: first, sets of minute dot-like excavations in rows, which so frequently are found to be seven square, that the probability is that the cases where they exceed this number, such as squares of seven by nine, are but

blundered attempts at the same figure.¹ The other kind consist of much larger circular and oval incisions dotted irregularly over the face of the stone. Of these two sorts, the first are probably, in many cases, play-boards for an Arab game, the only sites where the poor Arabs found level stones suitable for their purpose being among the ruins. There appears to be no analogy whatever between them, and the minute dottings which cover the surface of many stones in the megalithic structures of Malta.² The other class, which is certainly artificial, I am not able to suggest the origin of, although their rude character disfavours their being the work of the senam builders.

In describing such a remarkable series of megalithic monuments, it is necessary to see whether we can find in any other series, points of analogy; and in doing this we have two remarkable monuments which demand attention, which, though widely apart in locality, are closely allied in character. The first of these is the remarkable megalithic group found in Messa, in the Cyrenaica, by Mr. Weld-Blundell, and the other is the great circular Stonehenge. The parallels between these two types and the senams

¹ It would appear that sometimes the maker has tried to make two squares, and then finding the space on the stone insufficient has given it up.

² It should, however, be noted that in one site in Ghirrah the dottings occur on the under side of the senam lintel.

are indeed most striking. For, although the plans are in all three types widely diverse, we



FIG. 49.—MEGALITHIC GROUP AT MESSA IN THE CYRENAICA (from a photograph by Mr. H. Weld-Blundell).

find the two main features of Stonehenge represented, one at Tarhuna and the other at Mesa ;

for, while the Cyrenaic monument is the outer circle of continuous trilithons of Stonehenge stretched out straight, the Tarhuna senams are like the isolated trilithons of Stonehenge set up in a square. It would indeed almost be possible to construct a Stonehenge out of the Messa monument and the Tarhuna senams.¹

These points of similarity are so remarkable that they must not be overlooked, for it would appear that it is only on the Tripoli coast that we find any real parallels to our great ruin on Salisbury Plain.

The great difference in plan in all three groups, though very striking, is, I venture to say, more apparent than real. After examining about eighty of the senam sites the strongest impression left is that the actual and real symbol of the ritual, the idea round which all centred, was the trilithonic form itself; and this being so, the plan of the building becomes a matter of secondary importance. Ridiculous as sounds at first the tradition of Geoffrey of Monmouth, that the stones of Stonehenge were brought by the arts of the giants of old from Africa to Kildare, and afterwards by Merlin to Salisbury Plain, we may

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Herbert Weld-Blundell for the use of the photograph of this interesting group. The monument which Mr. Weld-Blundell discovered and photographed himself lies on the Merj-Greanah road, and is at a place called Zawieh Beida, about forty miles from the latter place. He suggests to me that the name "mesa" or "messa" may be from the Greek *mesa*, "inland."

after all find a substratum of fact : we may learn some day that the worship of the trilithonic symbol did indeed make its way from Africa, or anyhow from the east, to our shores.¹

It is, however, very strange that when we examine the different series of megalithic remains in the Mediterranean, where everything would lead us to expect features of similarity, we find but little we can compare with the senams. In the extensive temples of Hagiar Kym and Mnaidra at Malta, we can trace no points of analogy between the irregular ground plan, with its ovate courts and apsidal chambers, and the rectangular structures of Tripoli. Where masonry exists, it differs in every way from that of the senam sites, and where there are trilithons they are low and wide, and in every way different from the tall narrow structures of Tarhuna. The curious "talayots" and "taulas" of Minorca in some ways help us even less. It is true we find in the "taulas," lofty megalithic monuments composed of two or three stones ; but the type which seems to consist of an enormous flat block (like a huge paving stone) which sometimes alone, sometimes with a smaller support, bears a great capstone, must have served an entirely different

¹ Mr. Joseph Anderson, in the introduction to his edition of the *Orkneyinga Saga*, mentions a curious ceremony with a wooden framework, apparently a trilithonic symbol, which was performed by a woman who was about to be killed in order to be buried with a Norse chief.

purpose to the well-formed senams. The extensive series of megalithic remains in Algeria do not seem to possess any points which illustrate the senams.

The accumulated evidence of these details is sufficient to demonstrate clearly that these buildings were constructed by a people, who were not only numerous, but were possessed, firstly, of a religion, the ritual of which was somewhat elaborate, and secondly, of a knowledge of architecture and mechanics, sufficiently advanced for the erection of carefully constructed places of worship. It is worth while inquiring if there is, in the type of temple, any indication of the character of the rites practised.

The main features of the sites then are : (1) Hypaethral courts ; (2) upright megalithic monuments (the senams proper) ; (3) altars which, where *in situ*, lie before the senams, indicating that the latter were intimately connected with the ritual.

Now, regarding the senams, we have two knotty points which should be solved before any theories can have much value. The first is the question whether they have always stood free, as the majority do at the present day, or whether they only formed part of a long line of masonry. My own opinion is that they have always stood entirely or partly free ; and this opinion is based upon various items of evidence. To begin with, we have the remarkable fact of

the existence of so many up to the present day in an erect position, itself evidence of a certain value, for huge erect stones like these are easier to destroy than a high wall of massive masonry. Again, why should the walls, if once of equal height, have been destroyed. The

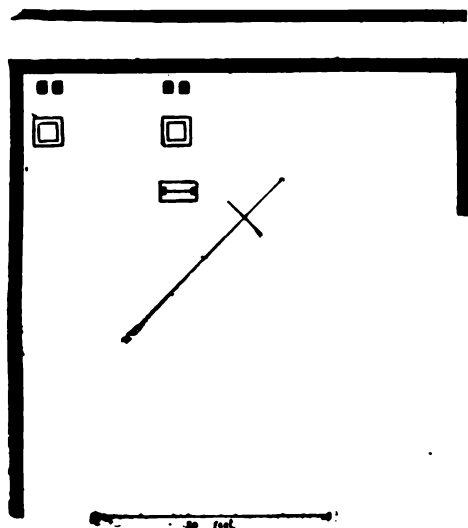


FIG. 50.--FERJANA (SITE NO. 5), SHOWING POSITION OF ALTARS BEFORE SENAMS.

Arabs of Tarhuna have always been tent-dwellers or troglodytes; and, as for the Romans, the evidence is more in favour of their adding to the temples than destroying them.¹

The next point of evidence is, that many of

¹ It is evident that if the Arabs had set to work to destroy for destruction's sake, the points which they, as Mohammedans, would have attacked, would have been the senams (idols), not walls which to them were useless.

the senams stand within, rather than upon the line of enclosure wall; and it is by no means evident that, in these cases, there was an interior structure.

It is not for one moment suggested that there was never a structure of any kind attached to the senams; on the contrary, we have several points of evidence that there was, as at El-Nejm and Bu-Samida, where the masonry



FIG. 51.—SENAM AT HENSHIR EL-MOHAMMED.

leaning against the senams is of about equal height; or at Henshir el-Mohammed, where a large block, apparently the remains of masonry, still rests on the capstone. At Kasr Fasgha the evidence of the masonry is doubtful, and need not be taken into account; but the alternate long and short stones here forming the jambs may perhaps point to something of the same sort at an earlier date, as well as also a somewhat late date for the senam itself.

But, upon the whole, the evidence is in favour of the senams generally standing if not entirely free, at all events incorporated only in structures of moderate dimensions and in all probability, as they have so generally entirely disappeared, of a much less massive and permanent character than the senams themselves.

This brings us to the second knotty point, the object of the lateral and corner-cut holes which exist in every senam examined. There is indeed so little at first sight to afford us a clue as to the intention of these mysterious incisions, that it is better to inquire in what possible way the holes could be used than to fall into the somewhat tempting gulf of vague theory.

As in every instance but one, the lateral holes are through perforations on one side and only partial on the other, the only possible use that suggests itself is that of bolt holes, square beams being passed through one jamb and into the other, to bar for some reason the space between the jambs.

The angle-cut holes, which are always found on the better dressed or enclosure face of the senams would appear to admit of two explanations. Either they must have supported the ends of other beams crossing the space between the jambs in the same manner as the bolt beams, in which case they must have been secured in position either by being connected

with the bolt beams or by the closing of the open side of the holes on the enclosure side by some structure built against the senams (of which in no case is there any trace); or they must have supported the ends of beams connected with a structure situated in the enclosure towards the altar. Such a suggested structure might be sufficient to hold them in position.



FIG. 52.—SENAM TERR'GURT.

In the one or two cases in which square holes are found in the lintel, or on the top of each jamb close to the space between the up-rights, they could only serve to support beams

projecting to a structure on the enclosure side of the senam. And this fact throws the weight of probability on the side of the angle-cut holes also being intended to support similar beams connected with some structure built towards the altar,¹ and either enclosing it or betwixt it and the senam. As the lateral holes probably supported transverse beams, it does not seem probable than the angle-cut holes, sometimes at coincident elevations, were intended for the same purpose.

SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE, AND SUGGESTIONS.

The evidence before us, then, would indicate that the most important rites of these temples necessitated :

1. One or more megalithic structures, composed of upright jambs of one or more stones, surmounted by a lintel, and having an average width between the jambs of $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which could be partly closed by stout beams.
2. A structure or structures of which no traces now remain, but of which we have evidence in the corner-cut holes. As no traces now remain of these, they must have been of a much less permanent character than the senams. These struc-

¹ It is not of course *proved* that *every* senam had an altar ; it is only *known* that a large proportion have.

tures may have been enclosures, and they may have surrounded the altars, but there is no further evidence on the sites.

3. Large altars, the position and character of which have been described.
4. Stones of unknown use (the Semana type).
5. In some cases apparently a covered way, or portico, facing the senam, as shown by the columns with capitals at Senam Aref and Semana (Terr'gurt).
6. An open hypaethral court enclosing the temple.

Now it is not difficult to see that the point where the whole ritual was focussed was at the senam itself; and this brings us to the more difficult question of what the symbol was; and here rises a whole host of suggestive facts.

If we disregard for the present the peculiar form of the senams, and simply consider them as idols, we see in them but another instance of that wide-spread reverence for great stone symbols which seems at one date to have been universal in the East. This cult, whatever it symbolized, spread widely it would seem with the Semitic race as they wandered from Chaldaea, colonizing Syria, and thence gradually embraced in their influence the shores of the Mediterranean. From the anointed Bethel of Jacob we pass to Betylæ (βαίτυλοι,¹ Bethels, houses of God) of the

¹ Sayce, *Origin and Growth of Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, p. 408.

Phoenicians and Greeks. In the true East we get the black stone of Mecca, Manah ; the pre-Mohammedan Arabian monolith, El-Lat, the idol of the Beni-Thekyf;¹ while the conical stones of Byblos² and Tanith³ present us with parallel Syrian and Carthaginian examples ; the "argoi lithoi" of the Greeks;⁴ and, lastly, a peculiar development of "monolithism," which is seen in the monolithic shrines of the Nile and Syria.⁵

It is worthy of note also that the dual form seen in the two jambs of the senams has a number of parallels in other ancient rituals. There are the dual obelisks which stand before the Egyptian temples, like the bronze Jachin and Boaz which stood before the temple of Solomon. In the same way gold and emerald columns are said to have been placed before the temple of Melkarte at Tyre, and the coins of Cyprus show the cone idol of Venus appearing between two upright columns that stood before the temple at Paphos. And even the "images" of the house of Baal (2 *Kings* x. 26) were of this character,

¹ Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, 1829, Vol. 1., p. 299.

² Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoenician Art*, 1. 61.

³ *Ibid.* 79.

⁴ *The Reliquary: Forms of Greek Idolatry*, by G. F. Hill. January 1896.

⁵ At Amrit, the ancient Marathus.

Of course stone worship is not only Semitic. See the list containing many foreign and other examples in Sir John Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization*, 1882 (pp. 303-312).

and the Hebrew word in the revised version is translated "pillars."

But by far the most remarkable piece of evidence as bearing on the senam symbol is found



FIG. 53.—DESIGN ON A BABYLONIAN SEAL (ENLARGED).

in a series of Babylonian cone seals. In these we see a priestly figure adoring before a sort of palisaded structure which connects or encloses

two symbols. That nearest the figure is a cone-topped column, and that behind, is a figure composed of two uprights with a cross piece at the top, and a second horizontal cross piece at a lower level. The form is the exact counterpart of a senam (with a beam inserted in the lateral holes), and it is placed in rear of the altar in the same way.¹

If there is anything at all in this remarkable analogy, we must look for an explanation of the Tarhuna sites in that polytheistic cult which we know best in the Chaldaean plains, but which we can trace with the Phoenician migrations to the shores of Syria, and thence to their mercantile settlements on the Mediterranean.

Let us see if we find among the sites other facts which tell for or against such a supposition. But before considering such evidence, we should bear in mind what this cult was. How the creative power was symbolized by the Baals, the sun and flame gods, with Ashtoreth or Astarte for a consort. In Chaldea the heavenly host was one of the earliest incentives to idolatry, and was the cause of a solemn warning to the Israelitish people.²

But this nature worship, pure and even beautiful as it was in the abstract idea, led

¹ The figure is from a seal in my own possession, purchased in the ruins of Babylon. Exactly the same design exists on many in the British Museum.

² *Deut.* iv. 15-19; xvii. 2-5.

gradually to the observance of the most degrading and revolting rites, and to the performance, beneath the guise of religion, of unnatural and licentious customs.¹

As the carvings appear to be all of Roman date, their evidence is only of value if it appears that they were in any way connected with the rites of the senams at that date. And of this there can be little doubt, not only because they occur near the sites, but because one is actually carved on a senam jamb, and is almost certainly an original work cut on the stone before it was set on end.

Now the Romans never stamped out a religion they found in a conquered country, but they adapted it. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume, that whether these phallic forms were actually cut by Roman artizans or by native tribes who had adopted to some extent Roman arts, the artists were representing symbols which had been held before in some sort of reverence in the country.²

And here again, in default of any other

¹The reader who would follow this and kindred subjects, would do well to consult Major-General Furlong's *Rivers of Life: or Sources and Streams of the Faiths of Man*, 1883; and also the work by Dr. Thomas Inman, *Ancient Faiths Embodied in Ancient Names*, 1872. In both works he will find much about the Grove and Asherah worship not without interest.

²The dove was emblematic of Astarte, and the bird form of one of the sculptures may well be a dove.

rendering, we must note the inscription, in which, if there is anything more than coincidence in the likeness between MALLBOL² and Malakbel or Malachbaal, this nature worship is again brought before us; for Molech, the flame god, and Baal, the sun god, were worshipped under the same rites.¹

"And they built the high places of Baal, which are in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to cause their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire unto Molech" (*Jer.* xxxii. 35).

If this evidence is considered sufficient to indicate that the senam temples were dedicated to the worship of the active and passive principles of nature, as symbolized in the Semitic cult by Baal or Molech, the sun and fire gods, and Ashtoreth the moon, many of the most puzzling features of the sites admit of at least a reasonable explanation.

We know from the numerous passages of the Bible, that the ritual accompanying these deities was of the most terrible and revolting character, and often of the most impure description. Among those of Molech, the fire god, or "abomination" of Ammon (and the Moabitish Chemosh), were human sacrifices, mutilations, ordeals, burning of children as offerings, and purification by fire.

¹ Malchibaal occurs as a personal name on a Maltese inscription.

"They have built also the high places of Baal to burn their sons with fire for burnt offerings unto Baal" (*Jer.* xix. 5).¹

The word "Asherah," translated generally in the A.V. of the Bible by the word "grove," was either a female deity closely akin to Ash-toreth, or more probably a symbolic effigy of the latter. Though it does not appear to be ever described, it is evident that it was an idol, generally of wood, for it could be cut down and burned. The Asherah is always named as standing by the altar.

"Then the men of the city said unto Joash: Bring out thy son that he may die; because he hath cast down the altar of Baal, and because he hath cut down the *grove* that was by it" (*Judges* vi. 30).

It was an object of adoration, for the children of Israel "served Baal and the *groves*."

When I first suggested, before the Anthropological Section of the British Association,² that in the trilithonic senams of Tripoli we see symbolic structures, if not identical, at any rate nearly akin to the mysterious *Asherim* of the Baal worshippers, I did so with much diffidence. But subsequent consideration, and a second visit to the country and to numerous other sites, has not shown any reason to withdraw the

¹ See also *Deut.* xii. 31; *Ps.* cvi. 37, 38; *Jer.* viii. 31; *Ez.* xvi. 20, 21; xxiii. 37-39.

² At Ipswich, 1895.

suggestion. That the "Asherah" symbol, which was an idolatrous emblem of Ashtoreth, the nature goddess, "the abomination of the Sidonians," by whom all sexual desire was kindled, should take such a form as we see in the senams and in the Babylonian seals, is surely probable enough; and its position upon the latter in juxtaposition with the cone-topped column,¹ which is unquestionably phallic, is alone suggestive as to its significance. That the "Asherah" was of wood, and not of stone, only renders more significant the fact that the senams themselves seem copied from wooden types.

If yet a little more theorizing may be excused, it may be pointed out that the angle-cut holes on the altar side of the senams are well adapted for erecting a wooden structure, such as appears to be indicated on the Babylonian seals, and joining it to an enclosure in which might be enacted some of the terrible rites of the faith of Molech. If the passage between the senam jambs was that by which the victims were passed by the priests, and the lateral holes contained bars which could then be shot, signifying that the world was left behind, we may imagine a terrible explanation of the mystery. The passage through the jambs would thus signify regeneration or new birth, which was to be

¹ This itself has been called the sun pillar, and has been considered the "Asherah"; but see Sayce, *Origin and Growth of Religion*, pp. 409-411, and foot-notes.

followed by either sacrifice or by the purifying rite of passage through the fire; for although the passages are, as has been pointed out, so narrow that they could not be used as ordinary gates, they were wide enough for this purpose, for the sacrificial victims were always youthful.¹

In connection with this, the world-wide custom of squeezing between clefts in rocks, between the columns of mosques, or through holed stones for the cure of ailments, should be noticed. All these were originally symbolical of regeneration, and such was probably a part of the "Asherah" ritual, and, if there be anything in the above suggestions, of the *senams* as well.² In the case of a purificatory rite by fire, there would probably be room between the *senam* and the altar for two fires side by side.³

We have yet a few items of evidence which should not be overlooked. Firstly, the *senams* almost invariably occupy the tops of gentle eminences, recalling at once the "high places,"

¹ *Deut.* xii. 31; *Ez.* xvi. 20, 21; xxiii. 37-39, etc.

² As in many Eastern mosques. At the Mosque of Amr at Cairo there are two columns between which it is said that none but a true believer could squeeze. Similar instances might be multiplied. In some cases the rite has degenerated into a cure for rheumatism.

³ It is of course a question if the passages relating to *passing through the fire* (2 *Kings* xvii. 16, 17; xxi. 5, 6, etc.) refer to actual immolation or to purificatory rites. There is, however, plenty of Biblical evidence of actual immolation.

as the Baal temples are invariably termed. Secondly, like the temples of Golgos and Paphos (both temples of the Semitic Astarte),¹ the senam temples were not orientated. Furthermore, it is not improbable that in the same way the enclosure wall of the hypaethral court was only stone below, and wood or crude-brick above.² Thirdly, although one would hesitate before deducing anything from the modern names, some of these are worth noting. Thus Senam el-Thubah is the "idol of sacrifice"; Senam el-Nejm is the "idol of the star"; El-Aref is less easy to explain, but it may mean either the "high places," or the "place of divination"; Senam el-Gharabah is the "idol of wonder"; and Kom Nasr the "hill of victory." There is also Ras el-Id, the "hill of the feast"; and in Western Tarhuna, a point in the hill range is Jebel Thubain, the mountain of "two sacrifices."

¹ See Perrot and Chipiez, *Art of Phoenicia*, 1. 283; Rawlinson, *Phoenicia*, 144.

² I would also call the attention of the reader to part of the remarkable ruins at Kalat Siman in northern Syria, which I only know by photographs. Here surrounding a Christian church are megalithic colonnades and masonry, between which and the senams there is a most remarkable likeness. The square monolithic columns are surmounted by capitals identical in pattern with those of Aref and Semana. No guide book nor work I have, suggest that these works are pre-Christian; but they are, at any rate, absolutely different in architectural character to the buildings they enclose.

Glancing at all the evidence before us, it is impossible to resist the conclusion, that whether appropriated to any form of Baal cult or not, such a strange combination of rude megalithic forms, advanced knowledge of masonry,¹ and evidence of an organized ritual must have been the outcome of contact between some barbarous or semi-barbarous tribal population and some highly cultured race. That it was the Libyan races,² who we know occupied this territory, which constituted the first element, there is every reason to believe; and that the other influence was the result of the Sidonian and Phoenician colonies which at an early date were formed for mercantile purposes upon this coast, there seems from the above mass of evidence at any rate a strong presumption. It may have come from Egypt by some earlier and unrecorded migration, but at present the evidence at hand does not point to this; but at any rate we have in these monuments a most remarkable link between the great stone building age and ancient Eastern civilization.

Nothing has yet been said of the date of the monuments, and it is perhaps wisest to leave

¹ Compare the examples of Phoenician masonry in Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoenician Art*. It should, however, be remembered that though the rough work of the megalithic sites of Malta have long been classed as Phoenician, the theory is now hardly accepted by our best authorities.

² See the section on Ancient and Modern Geography.

such a question untouched. That they were originated by a race living here prior to the Roman annexation of the Regio Tripolitana seems unquestioned, but that they were still in use at that date seems almost certain. That the series continued to be erected over a very long period of years we may conclude from the immense number of ruins now to be found: a number so great that one must believe, that if every temple was in use at the same time, the population throughout Tarhuna and M'salata must have been as dense as that of London.

But if the senam building period extended over thousands of years, the sites may have been constructed at dates widely apart, and we may expect to find in them early and late types. Yet even if we imagine that at one time there were one third of the total in use, the number seems extraordinary. It is to be noticed that no mention of a tomb or tumulus has been made, and this is because nothing of the sort was ever noted; and this leads to the supposition that the dead repose, as among the Phoenicians, in subterranean chambers. The question naturally suggests itself, whether the senams are tombs as well as temples; and their extraordinary number rather favours the supposition. But until excavations can be undertaken it is useless to discuss the point.

With regard to the comparative age of the senams just a word may be said. The type of

simple trilithon¹ strikes us not only as the most primitive, but also as the earliest; for if it be copied from a wooden structure the jambs would be almost certainly formed of one beam; while if it derives its origin from stone, the prototype must certainly have been either monolithic idols



FIG. 54.—SENAM BU-SAIEDEH.

on the one hand, or primitive trilithons on the other. Later, the great labour of quarrying and raising such large blocks must have induced the builders to construct the jambs of more than one stone, so that we get the intermediate types, where blocks are interposed between lintel and

¹ As seen at Bu-Saiedeh, Doga, el-Gharabah, etc.

jamb. Lastly, we arrive at the structural type of Kasr Fasgha, where the upright supports are regularly built of stones, of which the alternate ones project like "bonders." Yet in considering



FIG. 55.—SENAM EL-NEJM, SHOWING THE BLOCK OF MASONRY.

this point we must remember that we are dealing with types only, and not with individual examples, for otherwise the sculpture on the simple trilithon at Gharabah would give us trouble. It is indeed

most necessary that we should guard against laying undue stress on any strict classification by type, for there is every reason to believe that, even when the art of masonry was thoroughly comprehended, the senam builders continued to erect either monolithic jambs or at any rate jambs containing much bigger stones than those they used for the masonry itself: a feature which emphasizes the idea that these structures were erected with a traditional and probably religious respect for megalithic forms which a reluctance was felt to abandon.

Lastly, the question arises, Where and what were the abodes of the senam builders? A race who could raise such remarkable edifices as the senams, and in such large numbers, would never be content, like the Tarhunis of the present day, with tents and underground dwellings. We must consequently conclude that they dwelt in either timber or crude brick houses, which would leave few if any traces till modern times. Whether the population was a scattered one, extending over the whole of the country where the senams are found, or whether it was grouped in villages round the temples, there is now but little evidence.¹ It is, nevertheless, evidence of intense religious fervour that the people reared such numerous and elaborate buildings for religious purposes, and contented themselves, as would appear to be the case, with wooden or crude

¹ Excepting, of course, scattered Roman buildings.

brick habitations. What lies buried beneath the green sward of Tarhuna remains yet to be known : perhaps the bones of these long dead

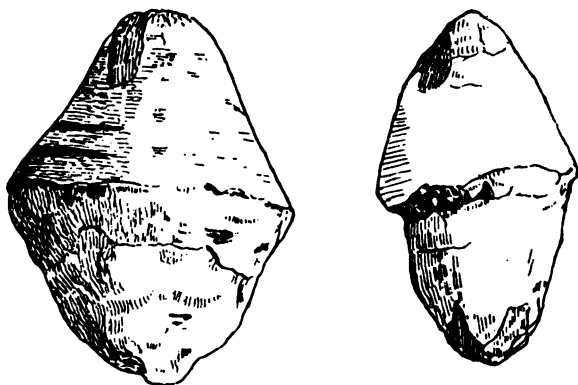


FIG. 56.—EARTHENWARE CONES, SHEIKH EL-MADENI.

idolaters themselves, and their tombs and the places they dwelled in !—Who knows now ? The mystery remains to be unravelled.

NOTE.—The reader will no doubt note that no reference is made to small objects found on the senam sites, which so often give valuable clues to racial migrations. The reason for this is, that although inquiries were continually instituted among the Arabs, not one single object that could be identified as other than Roman, was obtained. At Sheikh el Madeni I dug round the footing stone of a senam, and round an altar, but the only objects found besides Roman potsherds were the objects here represented. These were kindly examined by Professor Wm. F. Petrie for me, and he suggests that they may be lumps made to close and finish the sharp ends of amphorae, made mouth down upon the potter's wheel. They are here engraved, because their position by the altar is remarkable, and because their form may suggest another origin.

SECTION V.

KHOMS AND LEBDA.

IN order to see the ruins of Leptis Magna, it is necessary to take up one's abode for a few days at the little town of Khoms, which is situated some sixty-eight miles, as the crow flies, to the south-east of Tripoli, on the coast.

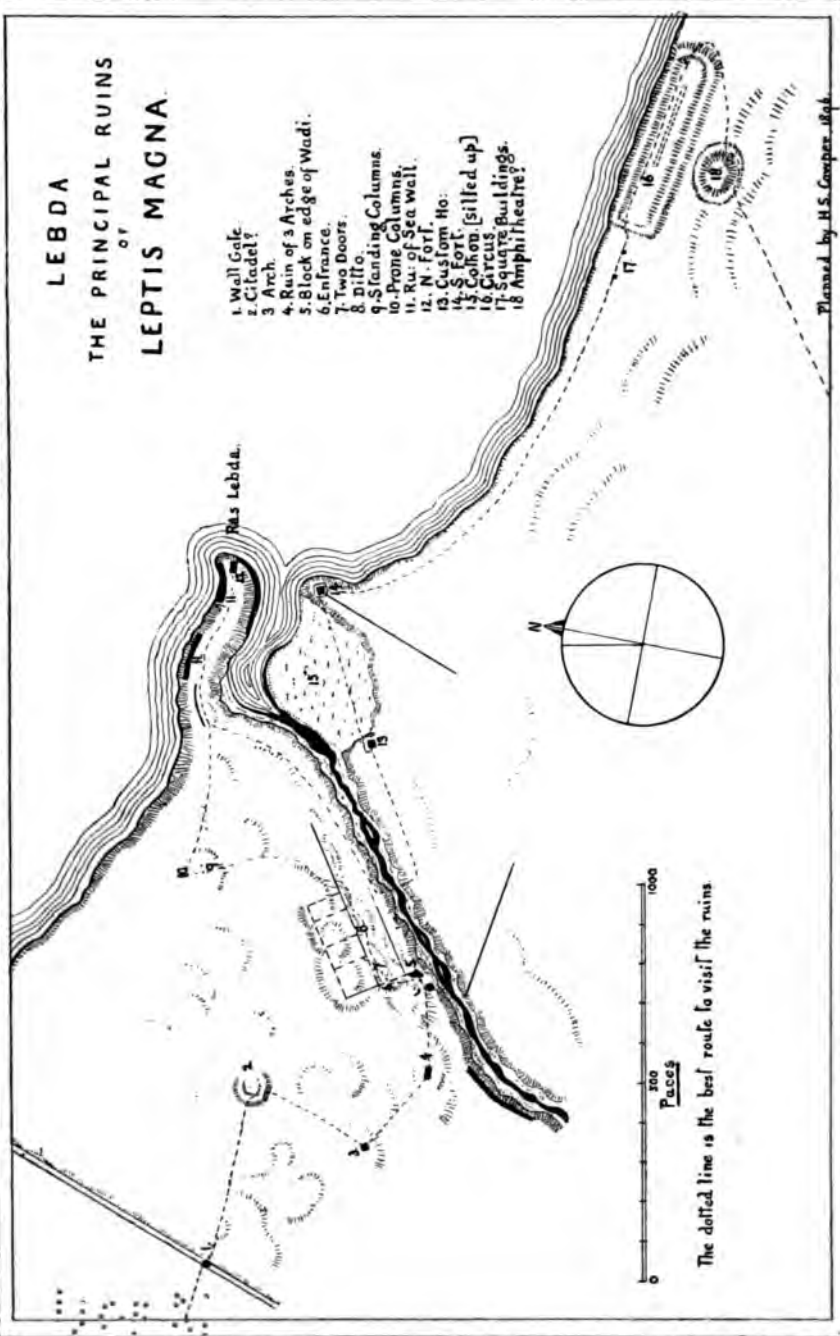
There are a variety of choices of route to Khoms, though they are by no means equally expeditious or commodious. The first way, which the visitor to Tripoli should adopt if he has the time and opportunity, is to negotiate a passage by one of the esparto grass steamers, which occasionally go to Khoms to load. The dates of these are, of course, quite uncertain, as it depends entirely upon the quantity of grass the esparto firms have upon the stocks at Khoms. Sometimes there will be two or three in as many weeks, and at other times there may be no steamer for a lengthened period.

The advantages of going by steamer are, of course, great. The passage is made in a few

2000

LEBDA THE PRINCIPAL RUINS OF LEPTIS MAGNA.

1. Wall Gate.
2. Citadel?
3. Arch.
4. Ruin of 3 Arches.
5. Block on edge of Wadi.
6. Entrance.
7. Two Doors.
8. N. Fort.
9. Standing Columns.
10. Prone Columns.
11. Ru. of Sea wall.
12. N. Fort.
13. Custom Ho.
14. S. Fort [silled up]
15. Columns.
16. Square Buildings.
17. Square Buildings.
18. Amphitheatre.



Planned by H.S. Cooper, 1894.

hours, and, as some of the steamers are fairly comfortable, and have one or two good cabins, the visitor, if he only wishes for a day or two at the ruins, can live on board.

But, failing a steamer, the traveller must adopt one of two other methods. He must either hire donkeys, and proceed along the coast, sleeping, *en route*, at the funduks, or rest houses, on the way. The regular ones are at Wadi Raml, Kasr Jafara, and Negazeh, and if the journey be done in two days he will probably select the Kasr, or, if he take his ease, he will sleep at Raml and Negazeh and arrive at Khoms on the third day. In doing this the traveller will not have to make much preparation, for he can dispense with tents, and he will also have the advantage of seeing the country.

The third method is that which I employed when returning from Khoms to Tripoli. An esparto loading lighter is hired for about 2½ Napoleons, and the passage can be made by sea. This course can only be adopted in case of a favourable wind, and it is not worth while, unless the wind is fresh and likely to hold. Under these circumstances the passage can be made in about twelve hours, but I cannot recommend as *luxurious* a method which entails lying in an open boat (which often needs continuous bailing) through a whole night, with a fairly heavy sea on. The sailors, who thoroughly know their work, are Arabs or Maltese, and hug

the coast all the way. There is probably no danger (although the vessel is small) except of the wind dropping, neither is there any degree of comfort; but the method is expeditious and should be adopted in default of a better.

The traveller, who arrives at Khoms, will find nothing in the way of an European hotel; so that unless it is his intention to camp out among the ruins of Lebda (an excellent plan if he has tents and servants), he will no doubt apply to our vice-consul, Mr. Zammit, who will give him every information, and no doubt put him in the way of finding some sort of accommodation. To this gentleman and Mr. Tate, the agent for Messrs. Perry, Bury & Co., esparto merchants (and the only Englishman resident in Khoms), at whose house I was most comfortably lodged, I am personally indebted for much hospitality and trouble taken on my behalf.

Khoms is an interesting little place, of perhaps some five or six hundred inhabitants, and owes its present position to the rise and growth of the esparto grass trade during the last twenty-three years. The name Khoms is really that of the district, and the Arabs call the village Legateh, but the first name is universally used by the Europeans and, as it is associated with European trade, it cannot be discarded.

As the place is thus the outgrowth of (so to speak) the wants of civilization, the little town is hardly oriental in character. For, though

there is a squalid village in rear, the esparto yards, with their steam presses, the lighthouse, and the one or two wide streets, in which the Europeans live, give a sort of fresh-air nineteenth century feeling to the place which is lacking at the Capital. The lines of camels with their top-heavy burdens of grass from Tarhuna, or other parts of the hills, give a busier aspect to the place than can be seen elsewhere in Tripoli.



FIG. 57.—KHOMS, MARKET DAY.

The ruins of Leptis Magna, called by the people of the country Lebda, lie scattered over a great extent of country to the south and east of Khoms; but all the principal ruins are grouped round the outlet of a small wadi, now called the Wadi Lebda, about two miles from Khoms,

and containing at the present day but a sluggish stream.

The chief reason for the choice of the site was, no doubt, the capability, which was seen at once by the Sidonian merchants, of converting the mouth of the small wadi, protected as it is by the little headland called Ras Lebda, into a harbour or *cothon*, suitable for their trading galleys; and probably it was found better for this purpose than the mouth of the Cinyps at Kam, which otherwise one would imagine they would have selected on account of the greater fertility of the country. The plain of Lebda, however, and the sloping hills round them, were no doubt at that time of a very fertile character, and even at the present day contrast favourably with most of the Tripoli coast.

The ruins of Leptis, if we include the many outlying tombs and the ruins on the Mergub hill, are scattered over an immense space of country, and it does not appear easy to define the actual bounds of the city. The Beecheys said that the city was comprehended in little more than "a square half-mile of ground," while Admiral Smyth said that, with its immediate suburb, it occupied eight to ten thousand yards, and the *Mediterranean pilot* gives the dimensions as four miles in circuit.

It is quite evident that all these estimates are based upon the measurements of the small area near the cothon, round which the larger

ruins,¹ which are all of public buildings, are grouped; and if it is to be supposed that this comprehended the entire city, it is plain that, as far as size goes, it was of insignificant proportions compared to the importance which the city is known to have had.

I think, however, there is evidence that the entire city occupied a much larger space, because the hills round bristle with small ruins, which, although mostly no doubt outside the walls, are sufficient to attest the widespread influence of the place. And although perhaps some of the many tombs lying west and north of the central group were extra-mural, there is ample space on the green plain which extends from near the shore for a city of almost any dimensions.

There is one point which especially bears on this question which is worth particular investigation. On leaving Khoms to ride to Lebda, the route generally taken passes behind the kushlah or barrack, and then enters a road which leads south-east through groves of young palm trees.² After twenty minutes we come to a small wadi which crosses the road and leads to the shore,

¹ I confess I cannot understand Admiral Smyth's 8000 or 10,000 yards. For, even if we exclude all the tombs, and even the circus, which lies isolated, the space occupied by the ruins round the wadi measures about 1300 by 1600 paces.

² It should be noted that palms have only been planted near Khoms since it budded into a small trade centre.

and looking up this to the right we see that along its eastern bank there runs a great earthen mound which marks the site of some ancient work. This mound, Admiral Smyth, to whose researches in 1816-7 further reference will be made, regarded as an embankment or dam to turn the flood waters from the hills clear of the city.¹ But this theory is hardly proved, and the impression which the mounds gave me was certainly that they represented an ancient wall drawn along the edge of the wadi, because of the additional strength it would thus gain. If this was so, the extent of the city was proportionate to its importance.

The ruins may for convenience be classed into five groups :

1. Those on the north-west side of the wadi.
2. Those on the south-east side.

¹ See Beechey, *Proceedings of an Expedition*, etc., p. 78 ; also Admiral Smyth, *The Mediterranean: A Memoir*, 1854, pp. 475-9, 480-1, 489.

This road is the best approach for the visitor, who should turn to the left, and follow this wadi which, at about 100 yards distant, leads on to a sandy desolate waste which extends to the beach, and at this point he will sight a merábut or sanctuary, near which is the gate in the inner wall. If, however, the visitor prefers to come by the shore instead of by the road, he must pass the front of the kushlah, and keep a line along the edge of the cultivated land, so as to avoid the deep sand. By following this route he will pass, at about one third of the distance to the actual ruins, a mass of debris in which is still standing one jamb of a megalithic senam, a very remarkable feature to be

3. The cothon, or harbour, lying between the two.
4. The isolated tombs to the west and north.
5. The ruins on the summit of Mergub hill.¹

The order in which I shall describe the different ruins is not that of their importance, but that in which it is perhaps the best for the visitor to take them.

The first ruin is a long line of sand-covered debris running from the green to the sea, and this is evidently part of a line of wall which enclosed the central area. In this we find a gateway, still standing, but in such a dismantled condition that nothing can be judged as to its original appearance (Pl. II., 1).

About 450 paces rather south of east from here is the large and totally ruined mass (Pl. *in situ* among the ruins of a city successively Sidonian, Greek, and Roman. From here he can walk straight to the merábut above mentioned.

¹The ruins cannot be visited in less than two days, and require much more if the traveller wishes to know anything about them. The traveller who can give three days I recommend to adopt the following course:

First Day. See group 1 and 2, and visit the tombs lying on the plain immediately west of the main block.

Second Day. Visit the ruins on Mergub, and the various tombs round.

Third Day. Return to the main block and make a more careful examination, especially of the cothon and its surroundings and the circus.

For the first and second days use a donkey, afterwards on foot.

II., 2) which occupies a central position on this side of the wadi. Though it is almost impossible to guess what this has been, it should be noted that the mass has a somewhat horse-shoe shape, and that there have been steps on the west side. A portion of a beautiful marble column stands in the centre.

From its central position, and the fact that it occupies about the highest position on the ruins, it is possible that here was the citadel or castle; but although in its present condition it is best not to speculate upon its identification, it is worth visiting, because from it we get a very good idea of the desolate and devastated condition of the site of Leptis at the present day. For, excepting where the line of palm groves runs on our right, there is nothing to be seen except sand, fine yellow sand, mixed everywhere with fragments of masonry, bits of columns and jagged lumps of cemented brickwork. Away east rise from the devastation two tall columns, while south and south-east the yellow glare is broken by the larger ruins which rise up, as it were, black and ragged as a relief to the monotony of the scene.

Now, the reason why this patch of wilderness exists as it does in the middle of fertile lands is because the ground is so full of ruined masonry that no tillage can possibly take place. Consequently the sand brought by the strong north-west wind from the shore, and from the desert

strip which borders the coast further west, has been arrested by the masses of crumbling ruin, and there being neither tillage nor irrigation, has gradually accumulated until the place is as we see it.¹

Leaving this ruin, rather more than three hundred paces south-west will bring us to another ruinous edifice (Pl. II., 3) which need not detain us more than to notice that there is some evidence that it was once a quadrifrontal arch similar in design to that at Tripoli; and from here we



FIG. 58.—RUIN OF THREE ARCHES, LEBDA.

soon arrive at a much better preserved fragment situated close to the wadi.

¹ A gentleman who has long known the site tells me that he believes that the sand is rapidly covering up the ruins, and that twenty years ago much more was to be seen.

This block, which measures about 35 paces in length, contains three complete arches with heavy square buttresses on the south side. Although it has been called a city gate,¹ it must really have formed a portion of some important public building (Fig. 58), although what, in its present state, it is difficult to say (Pl. II., 4).

Between this ruin and the river lies an immense stone, which has evidently at one time been placed on the front of some large public edifice. On it is an inscription, now so much worn as to be almost illegible.²

Leaving the three-arch ruin, about 240 paces north-east across deep sand brings us to the most important group on the site; and it is not a bad plan, before examining it, to cross the wadi to get a good general view from a little distance.

The first building, placed right on the edge of the wadi, is a great block of rubble masonry,

¹ Rae, *Country of the Moors*.

² It appears to be the same as that copied by the German, Ernest Hebenstreit, Professor of the University of Leipsig.

IMP CAES TRAJANI

parthICI fili DIVI NERVAE NEPOTE Trajano
HADRIANO AVG PONT MAX TRIB POT V COS III
Q SERVILIS CANDIDVS SVA
IMPENSA AQVAM QVAESITAM ET ELEVATAM
IN COLONIAM PERDVXIT.

See also Borsari, *Geografia Etnologica*, etc., and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. VIII. Pt. I.

in which are placed at intervals lines of brick. On the side facing the wadi this has lost entirely the skin of dressed stone with which it was once finished, but the north side, which shows a curved front, still retains the ashlar, and shows two tiers of arched recesses. Close by, a huge fragment has fallen from its foundations and lies on its side in the wadi¹ (Pl. II., 5).

From this building there is a short wall pierced by a large round arch running north-west, and from the end of this there runs north-east a long line of wall, which can be traced for about 450 paces. Although now deeply buried in the sand, sufficient is exposed to show that this façade contained the fronts of several important buildings.

The sand here is drifted in front of these buildings so deep and soft that walking is most difficult, while, in rear of the façade, the square courts of the buildings are so filled that they can only be traced by fragments of walling and bits of columns projecting here and there.

The first building measures along the front about 65 paces, and consists of a plain wall of ashlar, pierced by two fine and lofty doorways. These are trilithonic, perfectly plain, and the jambs, which are splendid pieces of stone, have been constructed with a slight inclination in-

¹ A writer in the *Nation* (New York, 1877, Vol. xxvii. No. 683) suggests that this may have been a bath.

wards instead of being placed perpendicular (Pl. II., 7).

About 145 paces along the wall, but evidently entering another building, we find two more doorways of an ornate character, of which, however, only the tops project. Then comes a



FIG. 59.—FAÇADE AT LEBDA (NO. 7 ON PLAN).

building almost entirely buried; after which, although the line of wall can be traced, there are no further features of interest.

Mr. Rae,¹ who describes these ruins, considered that the oblong space in front of the two gates was a temple, the entrance of which was by the round arch at the south-west. But

¹ *The Country of the Moors.*

the trilithonic doors have their outer sides facing this enclosure, and a square court can be traced on the other side as well as other courts alongside it. It is therefore quite plain that the temple, if temple it was, lay on the other side of the wall, and that the space in front was an open public square, possibly the Forum in Roman times. The gate at the south-west was an entrance to this, and was probably approached from the square by a flight of steps.

About 350 paces north from the end of the façade are two standing columns.¹ These are the only things of the sort now erect at Lebda, and are very poor affairs, the shafts being formed of a number of small stones. They are not, indeed, real columns, but half columns, and have decorated the front of some building which stood on the north-west of them. Close behind these lie the three magnificent cipolin monoliths which Admiral Smyth excavated and brought down here for shipping to England, but which intention, in consequence of their being too large to get on board the "Weymouth," he was, I think I may say fortunately, compelled to abandon.

¹ A little south-east of these columns are two tufty hillocks, affording good shelter from the wind ; and between these and the end of the façade wall, among the debris, I saw two inscriptions, of which I here reproduce the best copies I could make ; for at Lebda, in consequence of the moving sand, inscriptions sometimes appear and disappear in a few days.

The first is on a prone marble altar. The inscription sand

The largest of these beautiful stones is 27 feet long, and has a diameter of 3 feet 9 inches.

Close to here the Ras Lebda projects into worn, and lettering poor in character. The inscribed front measures 21 inches wide, and height 4 feet.

OM
HON FS
CNOSCENDI
PERPENSOQV
MFATO O B
QV EM PVB O
ONVM C ERIBVSFECER
PHORI · M · INST AVM TORIM P IVM PVB/
CVRUM · QVOD EV* NNVM ER CIRCASE
ACSOOSOFFFICIAS PRACENITAIIS CIVIS
AFFICIVM EPCISM NAIN CE TA FIDE
DEVOTIONE PRAES SMVIT R MSINS
RIT *MF* MF ENACISS MEMORP
ORDINI *BOM* ROS IV
PRA RONOSVO *VAMDE*
CREVI T INDIVID MMVT *VIR* MORIS AF
IVM SEROPT CONSTITV AC DEDIC

*Or V.

The letters given in italics are especially faint and uncertain. This does not appear in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Close by is a fallen block with

AESAREV
ANLIVSANC

the sea, forming the protection to the little harbour or cothon. Upon this headland can be traced a sea wall, and both here and on the south side there is a quantity of ruined masonry. At the extremity of the headland are to be seen the fragments of a small fort which guarded this side of the harbour. If any remains of Phoenician work are ever discovered at Lebda it will be among these ruins, or among those on the south side of the cothon (Pl. II., 11 and 12).



FIG. 60.—THE ANCIENT COTHON AT LEBDA.

From here we get an excellent view of the little harbour which dictated the choice of site for ancient Leptis. But as we see it now it presents a very different appearance to what it

must have done in ancient days, for half of the space is silted up so that no galley, however small, could now enter it. Its original dimensions are, however, perfectly easy to trace, and on the promontory on the south-east side can be seen the ruins of another fort, surrounded by a quay, with small flights of stairs, and perforated projections for mooring galleys; while opposite, on the same side of the wadi, are the foundations of a square edifice, with steps running down to where the water once came, which local tradition probably correctly names the custom-house.¹

The Wadi Lebda, which divides the city here, is a poor sluggish stream, containing so little water now, even in the early spring, that it can be forded almost anywhere except near the cothon. Crossing its marshy course, and taking a position right opposite the main group, we get a fine view of the ruins on the north-west side, and can also observe the line of rubble ruins which are built along the opposite bank of the wadi; through these are perforations which were probably the cloacae or sewers draining the city.

The only important ruins remaining upon the south-east side near the sea are the circus and amphitheatre, which are situated 1180 paces along the shore from the custom-house. Just

¹ Smyth, quoted by the Beecheys, says that under water are the remains of two large moles projecting from the two points guarding the cothon; but, unaware of the existence of these, I omitted to look for them.

before reaching these we find two small square buildings, one of which is elegantly decorated with pilasters.

The circus, or, as generally called, the "stadium," is an enormous oblong ruined enclosure, situated on the very edge of the sea. It is 470 paces long and 100 paces wide, and could not therefore be a Greek stadion, the length of which was based on the measure which was used for a foot-race, and consequently did not exceed about 210 yards.¹ The Roman circi, however, were not bound to be constructed of any fixed length; and that of the Circus Maximus was three stadia, or rather over 300 English yards. Consequently the ruin at Lebda is that of a Roman circus. Just above and behind it is a wide oval depression on the hillside, having a circumference of 300 paces. This is either a theatre or amphitheatre, but most probably the last.

It should be noticed that on this side of the river the country is of a pastoral character, and not covered with sand. This is probably because the buildings here, being mostly private dwellings, or of a less massive character than those to the north-west, have entirely disappeared, allowing the land to be in some degree tended, and not intercepting the fine sand.

The Mergub Hill. This hill is the last outline of the hill range towards the coast, and is of a somewhat isolated character, and so boldly placed

¹ This was the length of the stadion at Olympia.

that it forms a very conspicuous feature from the plain round Lebda.¹ It lies about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Khoms, and as it must be a prominent landmark for mariners, and also commands a view of the passes into the Tarhuna hills, there would be every reason for a look-out and semaphore station being placed here at an early date. It is not at all improbable that the Romans may have had a regular system of military signalling from their various garrisons on the coast of the Regio to those desolate posts in the desert, of which Barth found traces on the road to Murzuk, and, if so, there is no doubt that this would be the headquarters of the signalling staff at Leptis. Most probably the next would be on Jebel Msid of M'salata, for we know that at Daun, just beyond, the Romans carried on important engineering for water storage.²

The ruins which now exist on the top consist of a small square castlet or fort, with an enclosed court on the south and east. The building is only nine paces square, and the masonry, though ashlar, rather rough, so that it is probably of a late period, and replaces an earlier building. South of this and looking south, is a handsome Roman gate, about seven feet wide, which stands

¹ Mergub is the Tripoli pronunciation of Merkeb, which means a ship. Barth gives its full name as Merkeb Said'n Ali.

² It has always been asserted that the Leptis water supply was from the Cinyps. The dams in Wadi Daun seem to show that water was stored for the same purpose there.

out so boldly that it is well known to all sailors. There are also excavations in the rock at the summit, which may be ancient quarries.

Other Ruins. It is difficult to ride in any direction in the country round Lebda without meeting with ruins of some sort. Many of these appear to be small forts, probably built at different periods to hold small outposts or guards, to be able to warn the city of the approach of any body of the indigenous tribesmen. There are also, as has been noticed, numerous ruins of the senam type but mostly in a ruined condition. Nearer to Lebda itself, however, there are many mausolea or tombs, chiefly of Roman date, some scattered among the green fields which lie back from the shore, and others on the higher slope. As no detailed account appears to have been published of these, I add the following list of those I personally visited.

1. This tomb lies a few minutes' ride west of the depression (amphitheatre?) near the circus, and among the corn and palms. Like most it is in a very ruinous condition, and consists of a base of six or seven courses of dressed masonry, above which, and divided from it by mouldings, is an upper part somewhat smaller in dimensions, which has been decorated with pilasters. Only a portion of this remains.

2. At about one mile from this, and about south of the cothon, is another called Gusr (Kasr) el Benat (the girls' castle), which was formerly notorious as the rendezvous of an organized band of robbers. This is also very ruinous.
3. About half an hour's ride from the last, in a north-westerly direction, and lying W.S.W. of the main block of ruins, is another which is carried up all of the same height and not recessed above the moulding. Close by is the following fragmentary inscription cut in very rough characters on a marble block :

N
BVS BON
MEMORIA
BIAE A NA
VAE QVAE
IIS XVI
ALI PVDICITI

These three lie west and south of the principal ruins. The five remaining can be visited with Mergub.

4. This is situated twenty minutes' ride from Khoms, but lies on a road which runs a little south of the direct one to Mergub. It is of much the same character as the last described, which can be seen from it lying south-east. The tomb is ruinous at one side, and has a plinth and moulding about ten feet above ground.

5. A tomb which lies twenty-five minutes' ride west of Khoms, and can best be visited returning from Mergub. Its basement measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ paces square and is vaulted, but the entrance is filled up to three and a half feet from the lintel. Externally, all the ashlar has been removed.



FIG. 61.—TOMB AT BASE OF JEBEL MERGUB.

6. On the low ground, at the base of the Mergub hill on the south, are two ruins, one of which is a nice little tomb of which only the lower part with a vaulted chamber remains; but this is in a fairly good condition. It measures (with plinth) 5 paces; and there is a moulding carved round the square doorway (Fig. 61).

7. West of Mergub and on the road to M'salata, I passed at about five miles (95 minutes) from Khoms, a similar tomb to the last, but rather more ornate. A quarter of an hour further west is a ruined fort. Both of these are on the left approaching Khoms from the hills. The Roman ruin and senam at Henshir el Naimeh are described elsewhere.

It remains only to notice a few isolated antiquities at Khoms. Admiral Symth¹ mentions that during his excavations he found three mutilated colossal statues, all in the very worst style of the lower empire. There are at the present day the remains of four statues at Khoms, and although they are probably all copies of a rather late period, they are not of the description Admiral Smyth mentions. Two of these, the best, lie outside the gate of the kushlah or barrack, and lack both heads, legs, and arms. The best preserved appears to have been an Apollo Citharoedus, with the right arm raised and a dog at his left foot. The other one may have been a Juno. The two others, more mutilated and perhaps later still in period, are in a small garden near the esparto funduks which belongs to the Pasha.

Of course all excavation at Lebda is prohibited by the authorities, but occasionally the wind lays bare a portion of a statue, which is

¹ *The Mediterranean*, p. 48.

then exhumed. It would appear that sometimes when this takes place the Europeans by means of bribes get the Arabs to knock off the head, which then either decorates their homes, or more probably is sent to the dealers in Italy. The remaining portion is then carried to the



FIG. 62.—MARBLE RELIEF FOUND IN TARRHUNA.

town, where, like the statues in front of the kushlah, it remains anyhow and anywhere, the soldiers knocking off a finger or a leg whenever they feel inclined until the whole is broken up.¹ It is hard, however, to blame ignorant Turkish soldiers for these acts if, as appears to

¹The British Vice-Consul tells me that within his memory a copy of the Venus of Praxiteles was found and treated so.

be undoubtedly the case, the European element abet them in this work of destruction.¹

In this book, the object of which is particularly to call attention to the character of existing remains, it would take too much space, and perhaps be not altogether suitable, to enter deeply into the question of local history. There is also, in spite of the poverty of descriptive literature on the ruins of Leptis, plenty of geographical works and books of travel which tell its story. As this volume may perhaps be used as a travelling handbook to this part of the coast, it will not perhaps be altogether out of place to state once more the main points in its history. Founded, like Carthage, Utica, Adrumetum, and Hippo, by a colony of

¹ A beautiful marble bas relief, with three female figures, was shown to me at Khoms, and was found, it was said, not at Lebda, but somewhere in the hills about Tarhuna (Fig. 62). Its beauty was recognized, and, as it was sufficiently small to escape the notice of the authorities, it made its way to England, and has now come into my possession. It measures 28 inches by 3 feet, and its subject appears to be the Graces.

The date of this stone is rather late, and it should be compared with a smaller one of a similar subject in the British Museum, which is of Athenian work and an earlier period. In this case a grotto is shown at one end, and there is a dedicatory inscription to Pan and the Nymphs. Mr. Murray tells me that the subject is known elsewhere, and as the Tarhuna stone does not show a grotto, it is possible that they are the three Graces. The original work, which must have been of great beauty, does not seem to exist.

Sidonian merchants, Leptis Magna probably maintained during its earlier existence a position as an independent republic. Its name, Leptis Magna, was given to distinguish it from another Leptis, Leptis Parva in Tunisia; but it sometimes was called Neapolis, perhaps also to avoid confusion, or, as some have imagined, because of the adjacent ruins of the short-lived city of Cinyps. As a Phoenician colony it seems to have achieved a marked success, for in importance it ranked next to Carthage and Utica, a fact due probably to its excellent position for trade purposes with Phazania, the present Fezzan. Sallust indeed tells us that the inhabitants, by their intermarriages with Numidians, had changed their language, although they had not abandoned their Sidonian laws and customs.

Under the Roman rule of Africa, Leptis formed one, and probably the principal, member of the Syrtic Region, or, as it was afterwards called, the Regio Tripolitana. In these days its prosperity was as continuous as before, for it paid a tribute of a talent a day, and, according to Sallust, was noted for its fidelity.

There is evidence that Leptis fell and was destroyed by the Spanish Vandals of Genseric, and it is supposed that the defaced condition of most of the more ornate part of the ruins is due to the violent fanaticism of these bands, and of the Donatists who joined them. The town was probably restored by Justinian, and in the time

of Constans II. it was besieged by the Levatae, and it fell to rise no more when the furious tide of Islam swept west through Africa.

The only exploration worthy of the name that has ever taken place were the operations conducted there in 1817 by Admiral (then Captain) Smyth.¹ His first visit was in 1816, and on his return he found that numbers of the columns had been broken or destroyed, owing to the circulation of a report that they were to be transported to England. In 1817 he engaged eighty Arabs to excavate, and examined a necropolis, the principal basilica, a triumphal arch, a circus, and peristyleum, but his descriptions are not sufficient to say exactly now which all these buildings were. He concluded that the whole site had been at some time ravaged and destroyed, and that all works of art had been defaced, and even pavements torn up.

The ultimate results of his researches were that a quantity of architectural fragments, but no sculptures, were removed to England in H.M.S. "Weymouth," and these included no less than thirty-seven columns, with which the Pasha of Tripoli had "backshished" his then reigning majesty. Although the gallant admiral was a very distinguished and learned man, it may be doubted whether he relished this part of his duty, consisting of reckless spoliation.

¹ Beechey, *Narrative of an Expedition*, p. 75, etc.; Smyth, *The Mediterranean*, p. 479, *et seq.*

However, in a letter to Rear-Admiral Sir C. V. Penrose, he expresses his regret that neither the raft-ports nor hatchways of the "Weymouth" would admit the three large "cipollino" columns, which consequently still lie at Lebda, where they are infinitely more instructive and interesting than they would be adorning a sham temple in a royal park.¹ Nevertheless, the excavations of the admiral had their value, even if only because they showed the devastated condition of the site, and by their general fruitlessness made later, and perhaps less scientific, explorers desist from grubbing and disturbing where perhaps both are useless.²

Before I left Khoms for Tripoli, I rode

¹ Besides the columns which came to England, it appears that others were brought to Paris in the last century, where they support part of the church of Saint German-des-Pres. See *The Nation*, New York, Vol. xxvii., No. 683, 1878.

² Admiral Smyth concluded that the period of principal grandeur was later than the Augustan age, when taste was in the decline. The ornament, he noted, was overloaded and indifferent. Although the buildings were mostly of the Corinthian order, he found traces of one in the Doric style. The fine stones, of which the columns scattered over the site are composed, he describes as porphyry, granitic porphyry, oriental granite, gial antique, and marble.

The façade shown in Fig. 59, with the two trilithonic doors, appears to me to be of Greek date, and, if so, it is strange that no authorities appear to have hitherto recognized anything earlier than Roman at Lebda. Mr. Murray of the British Museum, who looked at my photograph, was of opinion that my surmise as to this particular ruin is correct.

with Mr. Zammit to the mouth of the Cinyps at Kam. The road, after passing the ruins of Leptis, enters a palm-covered plain which extends to beyond Kam, and is all known by the name of Sahel; but between this and the sea there is in many parts a sandy reach. At two hours from Khoms we came to a little wadi, where, in addition to a few houses, there is an open space where the Suk el-Khamis or Friday market is held every week; and twenty-five minutes beyond this there is a merabut called Ali es Seah.

At Tabia, just south of the Ras el-Magro, there is a huge building built as a funduk or store for esparto grass by an enterprising Maltese; but, in consequence of the competition at Zliten and Khoms, is not now used for this purpose. This building we found full of Greek sponge fishermen engaged in mending their sails. This fishery is generally carried on in the vicinity of Tripoli, and it is only quite recently that a venture has been made here; and it is said to have been fairly successful in spite of the Greeks having lost several of their vessels. The Greek sailors at Tabia were handsome, picturesque-looking fellows, with shaggy curling hair, wide trousers, and big knives stuck in their belts; so that altogether they looked much more like pirates or banditti, than the peaceful-looking white-robed Arabs, who bear here anything but a good reputation. Their captain wore

on his finger a beautiful Roman cameo, found he said somewhere in the vicinity of Constantinople, but he was unwilling to sell it.

A description of the mouth of the Targelat (Cinyps), which lies a short distance from Tabia, is given elsewhere.

SECTION VI.

DESCRIPTION OF SITES VISITED, 1895.¹

WADI DOGA.

1. *Senam Bu-Saiedeh.* (FIGS. 54, 63-65.)

THIS is situated a short distance outside the Fum Doga, or place where the Wadi Doga opens on to the plain on the northern side of Tarhuna. It consists of a mound about 160 feet square, on the edge of which can be traced the ruinous wall enclosure. Round the whole is a shallow fosse about 20 yards wide. The most important feature is the megalithic group which is at the southern corner. Here we find a line of three senams facing south-east, and in front of them a variety of other ruins (Fig. 65).

Of the senams the only complete one is that

¹ It has not been considered necessary in this section to cumber the text by giving references to all the illustrations which are placed in SECTION IV. and elsewhere in this volume. The reader will have no difficulty in finding these by referring to the list of illustrations.

marked B. It is trilithonic, consisting of two tall jambs and a capstone. The northern or right-hand jamb, looking from the south-east, is 8 feet high, 18 inches wide, and 2 feet deep from front to back. The southern one is 8 feet high, 1 foot wide, and 2 feet deep. The width of the space between the stones is 13 inches. The



FIG. 63.—SENAM BU-SAJEDH.

capstone balanced on the top is nearly 6 feet long, 14 inches high, and 20 inches from front to back; so that the total height of the senam is rather over 9 feet.

At 2 feet 6 inches from ground level (measured to centre of hole) there is in each jamb a square hole 5 inches square. That in the southern jamb goes right through, but that in the northern only half-way. At a distance of

2 feet higher (measured from centre to centre), are two more exactly similar.

The broken senam c on the north of it has been similar, but only one jamb now remains. This jamb is the north one, and in it there are three holes, one about ground level, and all perforated right through. The southern

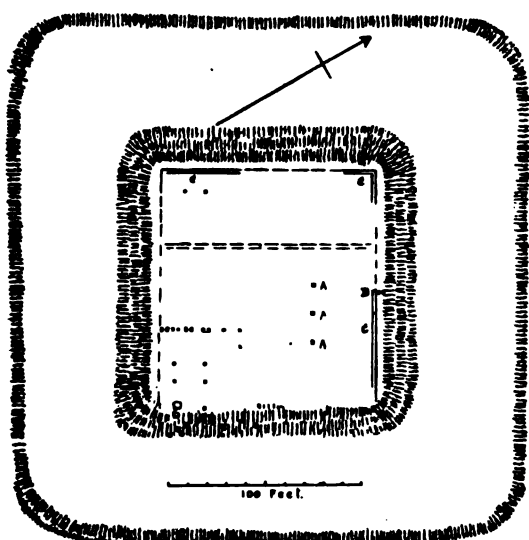


FIG. 64.—SENAM BU-SAIEDEH.

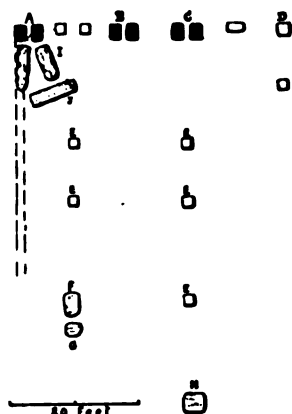


FIG. 65.—SENAM BU-SAIEDEH.
GROUP AT SOUTH CORNER.

senam A is destroyed, and its portions lie in front of its original site. J is a prone jamb, and I the capstone. The jamb has been 7 feet high, and there are only two holes. At D is an enormous column of four stones, the lowest one well squared and nearly as long as the three placed upon it, which are comparatively rough.

In front and between these senams lie a mass of ruined material of which it is difficult to discern the original plan. At E, E, E are square upright monolithic stones like parts of square columns. They vary in height, the tallest being 6 feet. There appear also to have been similar columns between the senams.

At F is a prone stone crossed by a cut channel 2 inches wide. Near it G is a stone on the surface of which is a hollow basin-like excavation. Stones of this character are often found among the ruined senams, and the Tarhunis informed me that these hollows have been made by the Arabs for using in the manufacture of olive oil, which I have no doubt is the case. There are also in front of the ruined senam A, and at H, the remains of stones which subsequent examination of other senams lead me to believe are the remains of altar stones of a type already described. This being the first senam I visited, I did not recognize the importance of these stones, and so omitted to take full measurements or sketches.

Leaving this chief group of remains we find the remainder of the enclosure containing many fragmentary ruins (Fig. 64). The north-west side seems to have been divided off by a cross wall, between which and the outer wall there is much ruined masonry. At A, A, A stand three square uprights, 5 paces between each. At B there appears to have been an entrance, and

outside the south-east jamb of this there are two stone uprights. The inner of these has two holes in it, one square and through, and the other small and round perforated through the inner corner of the stone. The outer upright has a similar hole to this at the outside corner.

The enclosure wall, of excellent masonry, is best preserved at c, c.

At 53 paced yards distant, two points north of west from the centre of W. wall, stands one jamb of a large broken trilithonic senam, with its fellow lying beside it. The standing jamb is 9 feet high, 15 inches wide, and 20 inches from front to back. It has three square holes perforated through it, each $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, the lowest being 20 inches from the ground. A line of ruined and cemented masonry runs about 25 yards north by east from this.¹

The only other point to notice about the senam is that the masonry of the wall and tooling of the square columns are all excellent. The south-east face of the standing senam is much more carefully dressed than the other sides. Mortar is used between the great square stones of the enclosure wall.

2. *Senam el-Aref* (Figs. 66 and 67). This is situated about a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes' ride from the last, within the Wadi Doga, and between Jebel Aref and Jebel Ahmar. It is on the south side of the valley under the hill and close to a small tributary watercourse.

¹ Not in plan.

Here we find a series of rectangular enclosures, of which the main features are shown on the plan, the parts which are hatched diagonally being in a much better state of preservation than the walling shown only by dotted lines. There are the foundations of further rectangular enclosures on the east which are not shown in the plan.



FIG. 66.—SENAM EL-AREF (GENERAL VIEW).

The most interesting features are B, C, D, D, and E in the building A.

B is a very fine complete senam. It consists first of two megalithic uprights, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and 2 feet from front to back. The left hand, or southern one, is 18 inches wide, the other 21

inches. On the top of these rest two blocks of stone about 21 inches high, rather wider than the jambs they rest on, and 3 feet long, so placed that they project on the south-east side. Above these are two more large stones of the same shape, but rather smaller and placed at right angles, so that they project north and south. On these rests the capstone, which would about fit on the top of the two jambs.

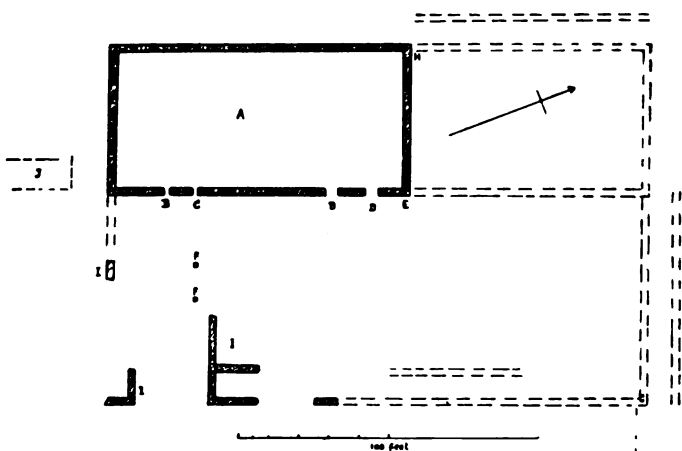


FIG. 67.—SENAM EL-AREF (DOGA).

In this senam we have a more elaborate system of holing than at Bu-Saiedeh. First, we find the two holes in the inner sides of the jambs, 2 feet apart, the lowest being 2 feet from the ground. Those in the southern jamb only are through. Then, at the other side (the west) we find three square incisions cut in the angle of each jamb, and in each case at the junction

of the stones. We thus have in each jamb five holes—two cut in the inner face of the megalith forming the lower part, those in the southern jamb through; in the upper part three corner holes on the west side (Fig. 34).

The masonry of this senam is carefully dressed on the side facing the enclosure A.

Close to this senam stand the two jambs of another senam C. It appears to have been similar to B, but only the two megalithic uprights remain.

At D, D are remains of entrances, 4 feet wide. At E (the north-east corner of enclosure A) is a fine block of masonry, 14 feet in height, with seven courses of stones (see Fig. 45). Its southern, as well as its northern and eastern sides is of beautiful dressed ashlar, which would appear to show that the east wall of this building was not continued throughout its length at this height. On this pillar of masonry are many rude scratchings which are of doubtful date. East from the ruined senam C stand two square columns, each consisting of three square stones and a capital (FF on plan and Fig. 35). The shape of the capitals can be seen in the figures; that furthest east is the half capital. The middle stone of one of these columns has a hole perforated through the angle, as at B on the plan of Bu-Saiedeh.

At G, at the north-east corner, there are the ruins of another senam, the fragments of which

have the dot-markings. Close to it, on the south-west, is a piece of pavement, on which has been formed a dish-shaped cavity, probably for the manufacture of olive oil.

At H the top side of one of the stones of the building A has the dot-markings, probably added after the wall was in a ruinous condition.

I, I, I denote specially well-preserved portions of masonry. An ill-defined structure embedded in the earth at J is said by the Arabs to be a water conduit leading from the tributary water-course above. It is probably Roman.

Besides the remains above indicated there are lying about in various places what appear to be remains of other broken *senams*. Within the building A is a great deal of ruined material, including some of the capitals of the type at F. The masonry at Aref, as at Bu-Saiedeh, consists of large well-dressed stones, with mortar in many places between the courses.

3. *Kasr Senam Fasgha* (Fig. 44). These ruins lie about half an hour's ride east from the last, on the north side of Wadi Doga, and are situated close to the precipitous edge of the ravine of the water-course which runs through the Wadi Doga. The ruins are not of great extent, and consist of a fine *senam*, differing much in type from those already described, on the south side of which at a short distance can be traced the foundations of square chambers on the very edge of the cliff. The *senam*, the most carefully

dressed side of which faces south-west, consists of four large stones on one side and five on the other, the topstones on either jamb and also the third stones from the top being much longer laterally than the others. The holing is somewhat similar to that on the complete senam at Aref. On the dressed side are corner holes cut in at the junction of the second and third, and third and fourth, jambstones from the top. There are also two holes on either side cut into the inner face of the jambs, the lowest being on the ground level, and those in the east jamb through. The space between the jambs is only 15 inches.

Leaning against the east jamb, and also on the top of it, is a mass of masonry of totally different character to all yet noticed. It is laid in courses of comparatively small blocks, with mortar and small rubble filled into the joints. There are in all six courses of this resting upon the senam. It is probably the remains of a Roman building which incorporated the senam.

Among the ruined foundations on the precipice edge are to be seen two stones with channels cut on the surface. They may be altars. Further ruins exist a short distance east.

4. *Kasr Semana* (Fig. 68). The ruins of Kasr Semana lie about a mile south-west from Kasr Fasgha on the opposite side of the wadi. They consist of large ruined enclosures of irregular shape, with a senam consisting of jambs of three stones on either side and a somewhat

heavy capstone. There are holes cut out of the angles. This example has the appearance of being buried to some extent in rubbish, and probably does not show its true height. In the enclosures are the remains of several ruined senams, and outside on the south where there is a ravine is a remarkable stone of the type



FIG. 68.—SENAM KAHR SEMANA (DOGA).

I have christened the Semana type, from having first observed it here. The type is described elsewhere. Fragments of Roman columns show that this site was Romanized. This site is rather unusually situated just at the base of a hill.

5. *Senam Argub el-Mukhalif*. This site is a quarter of an hour south from the last, and

consists of five or six ruined square enclosures and the remains of many senams, none of which has the capstone remaining. The best preserved court, which is on the south-west, has the remains of three senams. The jambs of one of these are 8 feet high. The other two are more or less ruined. Two of these doors face south-west, and the holes in their respective jambs alternate thus :

A B C D

In A and D the holes are perforated through, in B and C they are not through.

Within the court and close to one senam is a low column crowned with a capital like those at Aref, and now only $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above ground. In the ruins are the remains of at least four other senams and a channelled stone, which may be an altar or part of one. Footing-stones for senams are also found here.

6. *Shaahbet el-Shuand* (Fig. 69). This very fine group lies about a twenty minutes' ride east-north-east from the last on the other side of the wadi. There are in all the remains of five senams, an altar, and two tower-like buildings. A reference to the plan will explain the arrangement.

A, B, and C are each respectively a pair of monolithic jambs of a senam. In every case the capstones (and other upper stones if they existed) have disappeared. The holes in these are similar to examples already described, being

lateral square perforations, and corner-cut holes on the south side. Through holes are in the west jamb in A and B, and in the east jamb in C. The jambs vary from 6 to 10 feet in height, the last being the measurement of the west jamb of A.

About eighteen inches in front of this line of senams are the bases of square columns placed at fairly equal distances; these appear to rest on a low footing wall. At right angles to this

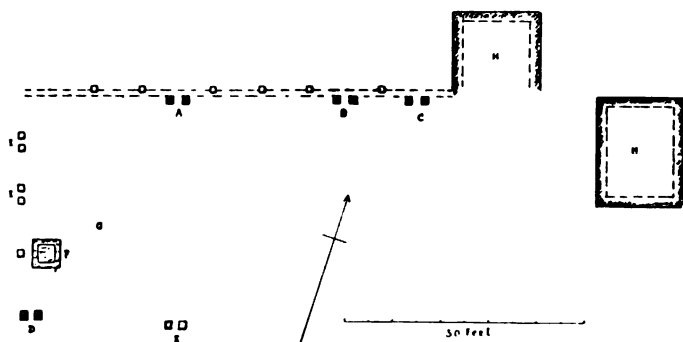


FIG. 69.—SHAABRET EL-SHUAUD (DOGA).

are a line of square uprights marked I running towards D. Of the two pairs marked I, I, the southern one in each case is about 4 feet high and its companion less. Beyond them is a single stone of similar character, and close to it the altar stone F, about 6 feet square, with a groove about 4 feet square. At D is one jamb of a senam 4 feet high, the footing stone of which can be seen. Another solitary senam jamb, 9 feet high, stands at E, and its footing-

stone can also be examined. H, H are like the lowest courses of tower-like buildings. There is some fine masonry in the most easterly. At G there appear to be the foundations of an inner square building. The senam jambs at A are each about 19 inches square and about 22 inches apart. On the north front of them is an unique feature shown in Fig. 36. It consists of low square incisions of no depth on the front of the jamb near the inner corner. These were probably incisions for wedges in quarrying.

7. *Henshir Aulad Ali*. On the opposite side of the wadi from Senam el-Shuaud. Here there are the jambs of a senam 8 feet high without a capstone. There are the remains of the usual rectangular enclosure, but, between the square column bases which mark it out, there are to be seen masses of strong rubble walling making a continuous walling. It is probable that this dates from Roman times. Many of the stones forming the enclosure seem to have been intentionally moved.

8. *Senam Kasr Borimzeh*. In a very ruined condition. Half an hour east from last.

9. *Kasr Gharaedamish*. About half an hour south of the last. Here on an eminence overlooking the valley is a small castle-like building well-built of big dressed stones. Portions of senam jambs appear to be used in the masonry, so that it cannot be earlier, and may be later, than the senam period.

REMAINS IN THE VICINITY OF KASR DOGA AT THE
SOUTHERN END OF THE WADI DOGA.

10. *Kasr Doga (Roman Mausoleum)*. (Fig. 27.) This fine structure has already been described by the traveller Barth. This is a fine ruin of the mausoleum type consisting of a basement of five courses, which rises from a foundation of three massive steps. Above the basement is a moulded cornice, and after another course, the plane of the wall is set back, and rises with a podium of four courses. Then comes another cornice, and the building above, where there was presumably a *pteron*, is destroyed. The whole is about 30 feet high, and measures above the base 45 feet by $29\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It is situated on a rounded hilltop on the left bank of the Wadi Doga. Its longer axis is placed north and south.¹

11. *Senam near Kasr Doga (Kasr Doga No. 1)*. (Fig. 70.) On the top of a hill at about half an hour's walk east-north-east from Kasr Doga, and at a greater elevation than is usual, stands a fine solitary trilithonic senam, consisting of two monolithic jambs and a capstone.

¹ The following fragmentary Roman inscription I found 200 yards north of the castle:

M
A E
E N I S
M X X X V

The jambs are each $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, 2 feet from front to back, and 14 inches wide. The space betwixt them at 5 feet from the ground is 18 inches. As usual, one side of the monument is more carefully dressed, and this faces about

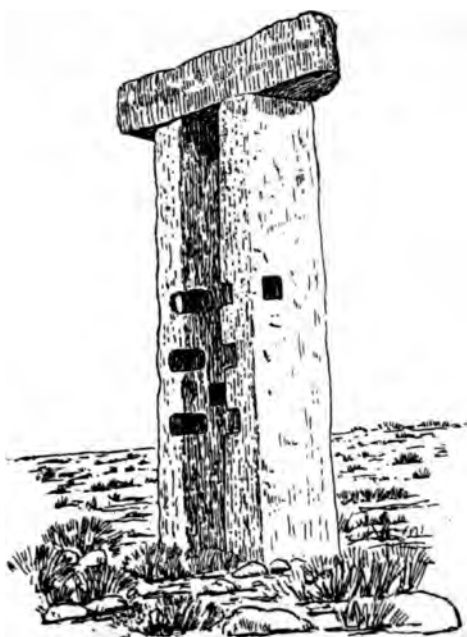


FIG. 70.—SENAM NEAR KASR DOGA.

south-west. As usual, also, the jambs have square holes cut in them. The north jamb has first a square hole, 7 inches in diameter, cut laterally from inner to outer side at a distance of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet from ground level. Above two feet distant, is another, placed rather nearer to the

south-west front of the senam. Besides these there are three corner-cut holes on the south-west side at the inner angle; the lowest 3 feet above ground, and the upper two respectively 11 inches and 10 inches apart. The uppermost of the three is cut into, or joins the through lateral hole. The two lower of these angle holes are 6 inches high, and are cut 8 inches back from the south-west front of the jamb, and 6 inches from the inner side.

The holes in the other jamb are similar, except that only the upper of the lateral holes is cut through.

Of this monument Von Bary, the German traveller, has already given some brief description. He further writes, "A quelques pas plus au nord, se trouve un tumulus entouré par un fossé plat. Sous les débris de pierre dont ce tumulus est recouvert on reconnaît les fondations d'un mur construit sans mortier. Le tumulus a à peu près vingt pas de longueur sur cinq de largeur."

Upon walking to this mound I found that it had been dug into by the Arabs, and contained a Roman building with several rooms.

12. *Kasr Doga No. 2.* About half an hour's walk south-east from here is a large mass of ruins, consisting chiefly of Roman work, such as fragments of columns, wells, baths, or cisterns faced with *opus signinum*, etc. Mixed up with these are the remains of three senams, and

three stones of what I have called the Semana type.¹

THE TARHUNA PLATEAU.

See also sites visited in 1896, Nos. 63 and 64.

13. *Senam el-M'aesara*. Situated close to the tents of Amr Ali ben el-Seah. This is a very ruinous site, and bears evidence, like many others, of having been tampered with by the Romans. There are the remains of at least one senam, and also examples of the Semana type stones. I observed one capital of the Aref type. There are also many stones showing the pittings and squares of dots.

14. *Senam el-Ragud* (Fig. 71). This place, also very ruinous, is about a quarter of a mile south of the last. There are the remains of two broken senams, the jambs of which have been about 9 feet high. The footstones remain *in situ*. In front of one of the senams is the altar stone B, about 6 feet by 8 feet, and grooved in the usual way.

¹ I can hardly reconcile the sites I visited in the vicinity of Kasr Doga with the description given of Milah or Medina Dugha by Admiral Smyth (*The Mediterranean*, p. 486). The ruins he found, he considered, indicated a city of considerable importance, and there were evidences of strong fortifications. Its dimensions, he said, seemed to have been three miles by two. Though I found numerous ruins, I could trace no city, so perhaps they lie in the upper part of the wadi, which I missed by the short cut. The mausoleum certainly points to something of the sort.

To the south of these is a great quantity of ruined material, difficult to trace the plan of, but amongst which can be traced the usual lines of upright square columns. Pit-marked stones also occur. This place seems to have been Romanized.

15. 100 yards east-north-east of the last is a very ruinous place of oblong rectangular figure,

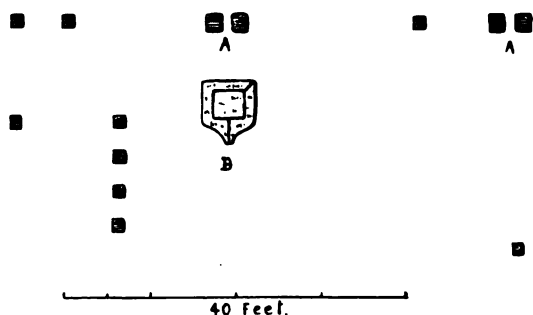


FIG. 71.—SENAM EL-RAGUD.

marked out by a line of walling. No big stones remain. The place has perhaps been entirely altered or destroyed by the Romans.

16. *Sajit el-Haj Ibrahim*. Situated a quarter of a mile north-east of the winter tents of Amr Ali ben el-Seah. Here is a mound or tumulus 28 paces (yards) in diameter, 15 feet high, and surrounded by a ditch measuring 16 paces (yards) from the base of the mound to the outer edge of the ditch. On the north-west side of the mound are the remains of two broken senams.

17. *Ras el-Id* (Fig. 72). A quarter of a mile north-north-west of the last. On the hill is a merábut's tomb (Mahmud Salhin), and close by, a platform of stones covered with pittings and dot marks, as shown in the figure. Beneath this platform is said to be a chamber, having apparently

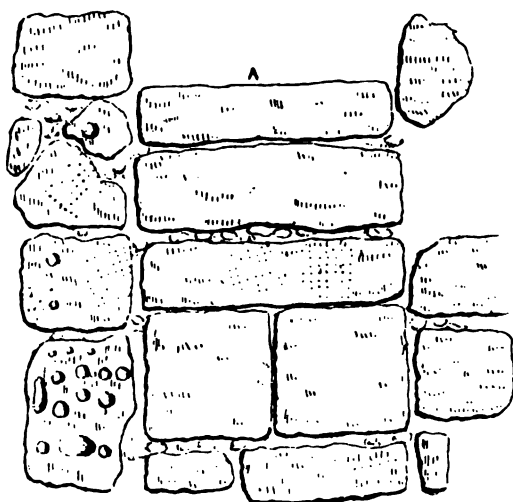


FIG. 72.—PLATFORM WITH PIT-MARKINGS, RAS EL-ID.

no connection with the merábut's tomb close by. Other dotted stones are about. The ruins on this hilltop show that a senam existed here.

18. *Ras el-M'shaaf*. About 300 yards north of el-M'aesara. Here is an enormous heap of stones, probably the remains of a large Roman building. On the north side, and apparently *in situ*, is a stone with sets of dot markings, each seven square.

19. *Senam Um el-Yuluthenat* (Fig. 73). This is situated at one and three-quarter miles south of Ras el-Id. It consists of a stony mound, with traces of an inner and outer rectangular enclosure wall.

Of the three senams shown in the centre of the plan, the two southern ones have monolithic uprights still standing, 6 feet high. The through



FIG. 73.—SENAM UM EL-YULUTHENAT.

holes are on the inner jambs of these two senams. The other four are more or less destroyed. The place has been Romanized, and bits of columns are lying about.

20. *Kom es-Las* bears south-west by west of the last (Figs. 74 and 37).

The Kom es-Las is a remarkable natural hillock on the plain, which is visible for a great distance in many directions, as it is of

greater elevation than most of the surrounding eminences of similar character. All over it, but especially on the south-west side, is to be found ruined material of both the senam and Roman periods, and although it is not easy to form an idea of the original plan of the place, there is much of interest.

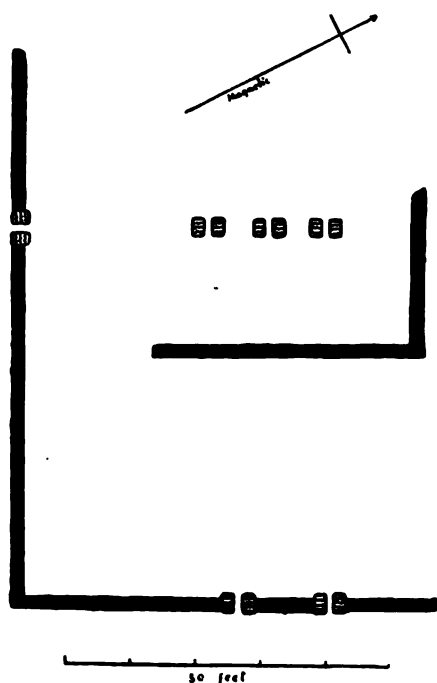


FIG. 74.—SENAM UM EL-YULUTHENAT.

The ruins are chiefly found on the southern side of the "Kom," the chief feature being a fine and complete senam which will be described. Close to it on the south-west is a small

stone, rather like a cheese or quern in shape, projecting from the ground about 8 inches, about 20 inches across the top, with a square hole 6 inches in diameter cut in the top.

On the south-east side of the senam, about 8 paces distant, is an altar stone. Further off,



FIG. 75.—SENAM AT KOM ES-LAS.

on the east side, the slope is covered with ruins. It is not easy to tell the original number of senams of which the fragments are lying about, or their original position. There are numerous portions of Roman columns, and in one place the base of a Roman half column appears to have been formed out of the jamb

of a senam. Traces of cisterns or tanks also mark the Roman period, while the dot-marked stones similar to those found elsewhere are probably the play-boards of Arabs. There are other stones about with the larger pit markings.¹

The standing senam has its rougher or less dressed side facing towards the south-west. It consists of two fine monolithic jambs, upon which rest two massive stones as capitals, on the top of which again is placed the capstone.

The right-hand jamb, looking at the monument from the north-east, is 7 feet high, 2 feet from front to back, and 17 inches wide. It contains two lateral square holes, each 7 inches in diameter, both throughs. The lowest is 2 feet 4 inches from the ground, the upper 2 feet higher. Four inches above this the inner angle on this face is cut out into a square.

The stone resting on this jamb is 2 feet wide, 2 feet 4 inches from front to back, and 2 feet 8 inches in height. There is a lateral through hole cut where it joins the jamb.

The left-hand jamb is 15 inches wide and 26 inches from front to back. It is about 6 inches taller than the right-hand jamb, and the superincumbent block the same amount

¹This is one of the places which Von Bary described in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* and in the *Revue d'Ethnographie*. His idea of there having been a splendid Roman staircase ("Montée d'escalier") with columns on each side must be disregarded. There may well have been a Roman temple here.

shorter. This latter, however, projects further on the south-west side. The holes in this jamb coincide with those in its fellows, but as usual the lateral holes are not throughs. The space between the jambs is 20 inches. The capstone is now fractured, but has originally been one stone about 15 inches thick from top to bottom.

The total height of the monument is therefore 10 feet 7 inches.¹ The inner faces of the jambs and the north-east front of this monument are much more carefully dressed than the outer faces and the south-west front.

21. *Henshir el-M'zuga*, about one and a half miles south-west of Kom es Las. There is here a square enclosure with the remains of two senams both fallen. The enclosure is as usual subdivided by lines of square columns like portions of columns. Two of these columns have the corner angle rebated from top to bottom.

The footing stones which can be seen are of type 5 in Fig. 35, but rather deeper cut than usual.

This place bears evidence of having been Romanized.

¹ Von Bary describes the through holes as being on the south-side (*Revue d'Ethnographie*), which is incorrect. He thinks that the columns have been broken and repaired, the pillars being broken in the middle and the portions replaced upside down. There appears to be no evidence whatever of this. The broken capstone he takes for two separate stones.

22. *Henshir Bu-Ajeneh* about 300 yards west of Kom es-Las. At this place we find a mound about 16 paces in diameter across the top, and surrounded by a ditch about 18 paces from its outer edge to the foot of the mound. The latter is about 7 feet high from the bottom of the ditch. A wall projecting from the mound shows that here there was a square building, probably Roman. On the west side are two standing jambs of a senam of rather poor dimensions. The north one is 14 inches wide and 24 inches from front to back. The south one an inch more in width and 3 inches less in depth. The space between the jambs is 17 inches.

23. *Senam or Henshir el-Bughlah* (Fig. 76), situated about 2 miles south-west by south of Kom es-Las. Here we find a small and somewhat rude senam, with its better dressed side facing north-east, and 9 paces west of it a portion of another facing north-west. The latter has the appearance of being buried somewhat deeply in the ground. Adjoining the complete senam, and lying towards the broken one, is a small irregular oblong enclosure of big square stones. These are roughly piled together, and have evidently been collected and so placed at a date posterior to that in which the senams were constructed.

Close to the complete senam on the north side is one of the square cemented Roman

tanks or cisterns. The complete senam consists of footstones, jambs, on which rest large blocks, and capstone. The footstones in this case consist of separate blocks with the ridge left only on one side (Fig. 35), and are not quite of equal height. The jamb on the left hand, looking at the structure from the south-west



FIG. 76.—SENAM EL-BUGHLAH.

side, is 19 inches wide, 2 feet from front to back, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. Its neighbour is 20 inches wide, 3 feet from front to back, and 4 feet 10 inches high; but as the footstones are of unequal height, the block resting on it is somewhat deeper than that on the left-hand jamb. This latter, however, is about 3 feet long and projects in consequence towards the south, which is not the case in the other.

The capstone is about 17 inches deep, and the total height of the monument is about 8 feet 3 inches. The space between the jamb is 17 inches.

The holes are two in number, lateral, and 2 feet from centre to centre as usual. Those in the left-hand jamb are perforated through. The faces of the jambs and superincumbent blocks towards the south-west are left rougher and more unhewn than usual.

The peculiarity of this senam is that it appears to be an ancient restoration of the senam period, as the capstone is portion of a jamb of an ancient senam.

24. *Senam at Kom Nasr or Henshir el-M'areh* (Fig. 38). This is a solitary senam about one mile west of the last. There is nothing to be seen in the way of surrounding ruins, but the senam itself is a fine example and has rather unusual features. The best dressed side of the monument faces to the east; but, with the exception of the south side of the south jamb, all the faces of the stones are rather unusually well dressed, and the marks of the mason's chisel are plainly discernible on the inner faces.

The senam rests on a footstone of the type 3, Fig. 35, and stands 7 inches above ground. The northern jamb is a fine monolith, but that on the south is shorter and has a large block between it and the capstone.

The main stone of the southern jamb is 21 inches square and 6 feet high, and has two lateral holes in it, not perforated through, 6 inches in diameter, and the lowest 2 feet 8 inches from the ground. They are, as usual, 2 feet apart. The block resting on this projects perhaps 8 inches towards the west.

The other jamb is 21 inches square and about 7 feet 8 inches high, and the holes, which are opposite those of its neighbour, are throughs. The space between the jambs is 15 inches only. The capstone is about 1 foot 3 inches from top to bottom. The total height without the footstone is therefore just under 9 feet.

25. *Henshir Maagel*. This place is about three-quarters of an hour's ride east of Kom es-Las. Here are the remains of a triple square enclosure, with at least one destroyed senam. There is also a broken altar stone with a circular groove (Fig. 39), which being partly unearthed, which is not usually the case, can be seen to be about 1 foot in thickness.

The most interesting feature here, and perhaps also in the whole group of senams, is the extraordinary carved stone already partly described on p. 152. This stone is now lying tilted on one side among debris, and measures about 16 inches by 24 inches, and about 21 inches from front to back. It has apparently been originally built into a wall, so that the carved panel on the front was flush with it. The

subject is enclosed within a square beading, and at each end there is a sort of spreading fish tail joining this to the end of the panel.

The subject, which is cut boldly in relief, represents an extraordinary and monstrous animal with an elongated and tapering body and slightly upturned head. It has hind legs, but whether more dog-like or horse-like it is difficult to decide. There is no trace of fore legs, and from the monster's rump projects two tiny pointed tails. Beneath the body are two ovate mysterious forms, a greater and a less.

This carving and the panel on which it is represented shows unmistakable Roman influence in style. The subject generally is discussed elsewhere.

26. *Senam el-Jereh* (Fig. 77). About 20 minutes' ride in a north-north-easterly direction from Kom Nasr.

This is a solitary senam of rather rough work facing north-east and south-west, the north-east side and inner faces of the jambs being carefully dressed, while the other faces are left comparatively rough.

The senam consists of two jambs capped with large blocks, which are rather higher in proportion than is usual, and a capstone.

The left-hand jamb (looking at the monument from the south-west) is 22 inches wide and 2 feet from front to back. It is 6 feet 5 inches high. There are two lateral holes, both per-

forated right through, 2 feet apart as usual, and the lowest 2 feet above the ground.

The right-hand jamb has the same dimensions except that its height is less by 5 inches. The holes coincide but do not go through. The



FIG. 77.—SENAM EL-JEREH.

blocks placed on these jambs are flush with them on the inner faces and north-east side. On the other sides they slightly project. That over the left-hand jamb is 2 feet 7 inches high, and the other 3 feet. There are holes cut out

of the inner angles of these blocks on the north-east side.

The total height of the senam is nearly 11 feet, and the space between the jamb is 16 inches.

27. About 150 yards (paces) north of el-Jereh is a hill which has been scarped and surrounded by a ditch, and upon which there are great ruins of Roman masonry. The ditch measures about 62 paces along its outer edge.¹ The place is probably a Roman castle. On the top of the hill are now several merábuts, wretched cairns of stones with fluttering flags stuck on them.

Close to this, and about 200 yards north-north-east of el-Jereh, are the foundations of a small but beautiful Roman building, of which nothing but the plinth with a beautiful moulding remains.

28. *Kom el-Lebet*. This Kom is perhaps two miles north of el-Jereh, and lies due west of Kom es-Las. Here, on a hill of some size covered with debris, we find a ruined senam, a broken altar on which dish-shaped cavities for the olive oil manufacture have been worked, and also the seven square dottings.

There is also a stone of the Semana type about 3 feet high, and other stones with pit-and-dot-markings.

29. *Kom el-Saud*. About one mile north-north-east of the last. This is a hill round the

¹ In consequence of some damage to my note-book, I cannot feel sure that I have read this measurement correctly.

top of which a wide ditch has been dug. The space enclosed is oblong and rectangular, and contains much ruin, seemingly all of Roman date. It is probably a Roman castle.

30. *El-Khadra*. Here is the magnificent "batum" tree, commonly but incorrectly spoken of as the only tree in Tarhuna. It is, however, the only one on the Tarhuna plateau, and, being of great size, can be discerned for many miles. Beneath its branches lie a mass of stones which appear to have been collected and placed there. Amongst them are fragments of a senam, many Roman stones, and one with the Arab dot markings.

31. *Kom el-Khadajieh*. This is a hill about half a mile south-east of el-M'aesara (No. 13). There are only fragments of Roman columns, and at least eleven stones marked with the seven square dot markings.

32. *Senam el-Thubah* (Fig. 78). This place is rather over a quarter of a mile east-south-east of the last. The plan as far as can be ascertained is shown herewith. At A and B there is respectively one jamb of a senam standing. At D, D have been other senams. E is the altar.

The position of these senams is uncommon, and they are closer together than usual. The standing jamb at A is a monolith 10 feet high.

100 yards south-west from here is a large mass of ruins surrounded by a ditch.

33. *Senam el-Bir* (Fig. 79). Half a mile south-east of el-Thubah. The enclosure here is

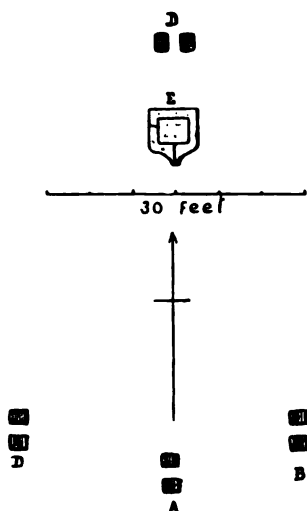


FIG. 78.—SENAM EL-THUBAH.

of large size, measuring 82 paces by 70. It is, however, in a very ruinous state. At A is a

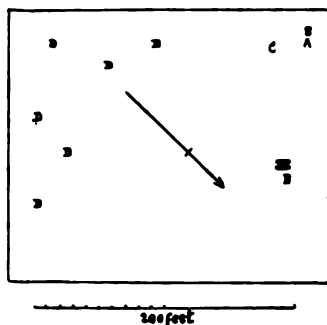


FIG. 79.—SENAM EL-BIR.

broken senam, the better-dressed face of which is towards the south-east. At B are two big

R

prone stones which *may* be another fallen senam. One has the dotted square.

Over much of the area, especially at D, D, D, are to be found the square bases of the usual character. Amongst ruins at c are the remains of another senam, and a stone decorated on the side uppermost with shallow grooves and pit-markings: it measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 3 feet 2 inches by 10 inches, and upon examination proved to be a stone of the Semana type turned upside down. It was noticed that the square incisions at either end go right through, which is not usually the case. Also that its height, 10 inches, is much less than usual, that at Kom el-Lebet being 3 feet high. It is possible that it has been laterally split in two by the same hands that turned it upside down, and made the markings now on the other side.

This site appears to have been Romanized, and portions of cemented flooring can be seen.¹

34. 100 yards north-north-east of the last is a single fallen jamb of a large senam, about 10 feet high, with two through holes. There is here also another stone of the Semana type.

At this point is the Wadi el-Menshi, where there is a well from which the Senam el-Bir probably is named. Another broken senam jamb lies here.

¹ This site may be the same as that described by Von Bary at a place called El-Arka 'tal Abenat.

REMAINS IN THE FERJANA DISTRICT OF TARHUNA.

35. *Kasr Zuguseh or Kasr Ferjana* (Fig. 47). About one hour and a half in a south-easterly direction from Senam el-Bir brings us to the above place. Here, on the top of a small hill, is a castle-like building measuring 44 feet by 50 feet, built of large square blocks. From the absence of any sort of plinth or moulding this building may be of earlier than Roman date; but built into the masonry is a stone which has every appearance of being the jamb of a senam.

The most remarkable features about the place are, however, the carved stones shown on p. 153 (Fig. 42). The first is built into the south-east corner of the building, and the face which is carved measures 1 foot 9 inches by 2 feet. The subjects are described elsewhere.

The other stone is built in at the north-west corner, and measures 3 feet by $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

36. *Ferjana, Senam No. 1*¹ (Figs. 46 and 80). This place is a short distance south-east of the above-named castle, being in fact on the next hill-top. It consists of an oblong rectangular enclosure much subdivided. The lines of division are chiefly marked out by square columns 2 feet to 4 feet in height and about 18 inches square.

At A is a complete senam, at B a broken one,

¹ Being unable to obtain special names for all the sites in Ferjana, they are distinguished by numbers.

and close to it at c a tank or cistern lined with Roman *opus signinum*.

The senam A faces north-west and south-east. The northern jamb consists of three stones, and the southern one of two. The main stone in each is 21 inches square.



FIG. 8a.—SENAM FERJANA (NO. 1).

The height of the southern jamb stone is 8 feet, and on it rests a large block projecting more than half its length towards the south. The northern jamb is proportionately shorter, having two blocks upon it. The lower of these projects more than a foot towards the north-

west, and the upper, like its *vis-à-vis* on the south column, projects outwards or towards the north. The height of the whole senam with capstone is about 11 feet. The space between the jambs is $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The peculiarity of this senam is that there are no lateral through holes it being the only perfect example met with in which this is the case (see also Henshir el-Mohammed). There are, however, no less than five angle-cut holes in either jamb on the south-east side of the senam.

The lowest pair of these holes are cut back 7 inches from the inner face; the next pair 10 inches. The third pair (on a level with the top of the north main jamb stone) are very curious, being doubly recessed with a sort of intermediate step, as shown in the figure. The two top pair are small in size, and the uppermost are not cut actually into the angle but into the south-east face close to it. This senam as usual is dressed more carefully on the holed (here the south-east) face.

Dot-marked stones are found near both senams.

37. *Ferjana, Senam No. 2.* A quarter of a mile south-east of the last. Here we find the remains of a large senam, about 10 feet in height, which has been quite recently overthrown by the Arabs, and is lying in pieces. It faced north-west and south-east. The footing-

stone, which is exposed, is of the type 4 (Fig. 35), and is rather deeply cut. The base of the broken jambs show that they were cut out in a sort of rebate at one side to fit on to the edge of the incised footstone to give support. The senam had lateral and also angle-cut holes. Traces of the usual rectangular enclosure are visible, and there is also a cemented cistern or tank.

38. *Ferjana, Senam No. 3.* About 40 minutes' ride south-east brings us to a hill on which is the remains of a small enclosure measuring 12 paces by 13 paces, formed of large stones. In the centre of the north side project the jambs of a large senam buried up to the first holes. The left-hand jamb looking from within the enclosure is 18 inches taller than its fellow. Close to it is a stone with dottings seven deep in one direction and fourteen in the other, no doubt two sets of seven square. The hill is covered with debris, and Roman columns and bases prove that the place has been used by the Romans.

39. *Ferjana, Senam No. 4.* This site, 200 yards south of the last, has a destroyed senam, and south of it the remains of rectangular enclosures marked out by lines of square columns: a dot-marked stone is found near the senam. The most curious features are (1) a stone of the Semana type measuring on top 6 feet by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet; (2) a fine altar measuring 7 feet by 9

with a circular groove; (3) a very curious stone like an enormous bowl (diameter from lip to lip 4 feet), with a projecting boss or knob in the bottom (Fig. 41).

This object is the only thing of the sort found in the whole series of senams, and may be a sort of laver connected with sacrificial rites. It has been considered elsewhere.

40. *Ferjana, Senam No. 5—Senam Bu-Hamida.* This is situated half-an-hour's ride south-east of the last, and consists of a senam facing north-west and south-east, with a rectangular enclosure of well-formed stones (many ornamented with dotted squares) to the south-east.

The senam consists of jamb stones of equal size (about 5 feet 8 inches in height), each with two large blocks resting thereon. The lower of these blocks are the larger, projecting considerably on one side. The space between the jambs is $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the total height of the senam complete about 11 feet 6 inches.

There are four lateral holes in each jamb, but the two lower are perforated through in each, an absolutely unique feature in my experience.

There are on many parts of this senam rude scratched designs of no depth. Two examples are shown in Fig. 43.

41. *Ferjana, Senam No. 6—Senam el-Nejm* (Figs. 55 and 82). This senam lies about half-an-hour north-east of the last, and is about one

hour from Kasr Zuguseh. We find here three senams in a line, the two outer ones partially destroyed, and the centre one perfect, and in some ways the finest example in the series examined.

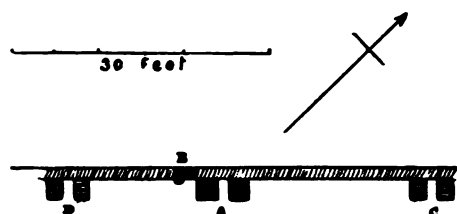


FIG. 81.—SENAM EL-NEJM.

This senam A faces north-west, and is of colossal dimensions and quite complete. Each jamb consists of three stones, and on these is placed the capstone. In both the lowest and longest stone is 2 feet 4 inches square. The left-hand one, looking at the monument from the south-east, is 6 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the right-hand one, 6 feet 10 inches in height (Fig. 55).

The blocks resting upon these are about 2 feet high, and of the same width as the stones they rest on, but they project slightly towards the north-west. The two top blocks are not uniform, that over the right-hand jamb projecting at right angles (*i.e.* north-east) about 20 inches, while that upon the left-hand one projects in the contrary direction barely 6 inches. The capstone fits accurately on the top of these two,

except that it projects slightly to the north-east.¹ The space between the jambs is only 16 inches. The total height is about $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

The holes are both lateral and angle-cut. The former are three in number on each side, 2 feet apart as usual, and cut right through in the right-hand jamb. The corner-cut holes are on the



FIG. 82.—SENAM EL-NEJM, FERJANA.

south-east front, two in number on each jamb, and placed at the junction of the three jamb stones. The lower ones on each side join the lateral holes. Besides these there are two square holes cut into the south-east face of the capstone

¹I must acknowledge here that I find in my notes, "The cross stone is formed of two gigantic slabs side by side." The slab, however, appears single in all of my three photographs.

over the space between the jambs. There are further three small square holes cut about 3 inches deep at the base of the right-hand jamb on the north-east or outer side.

Leaning against this senam on the south-west side is an enormous mass of splendid masonry, apparently of the same date as the senam (B). There are in all ten courses which are of the same height as the senam. It is advanced slightly in front of the line of senams, and rests on a sort of footing wall which runs in front of them; yet it does not appear to have been continued south-west towards the adjacent senam, as on that side it has a front of finished ashlar as well as towards the north-west.

The character of this masonry is totally different to that at Kasr Fasgha. Here it is of splendid squared stones placed in long and short work, and quite differing from the rubble at Fasgha. The wall of which it is a portion appears to have run towards the south-east. At present there is nothing to show how this mass of masonry was finished where it abutted on the senam.

Eight paces north-east of this senam are two jambs of another (C) of much the same type but less in girth. One, however, is a monolith 8 feet high. Six paces south-west are the jambs of a third (D), but not so high as those at (C).

Both of these senams have their lateral holes perforated through on the left as you look at

them from the south-east. In all these three senams the stones are carefully squared and dressed on all sides.

The south-east fronts of the great senam, and of that to the south-west, have many rude scratchings on them, some of which are Arabic.

In rear of these gates to the south-east are traces of the usual rectangular enclosure, with bases of square columns.

The excellent character of the work at this senam, as well as the more striking dimensions, may point to a later date than the ruder work, meaner dimensions, and more primitive types that are seen at some of the other sites. This question has been discussed elsewhere, but it may be well here to ask the reader to compare for himself this senam with its composite jambs of three dressed stones, each balancing fairly in dimensions its *vis-à-vis*, with some of the simpler forms, such as those of Kasr Doga, el-Jereh, and el-Gharabah. That at Kasr Fasgha, which evinces many marks of a late date, should also be compared.

42. *Ferjana, Senam No. 7.* This lies half way between Kasr Zuguseh and Senam el-Nejm, and consists of a large enclosure marked as usual by lines of square stones, and having on the north-west side a senam. This is only 7 feet in height, and each jamb is formed of four stones, with holes cut out of the angles in the south-west side. There are also two holes in the

capstone, which appears to have been originally the jamb of a larger senam. This example has a rude, debased look, and is not improbably a make-up of a very late and decadent epoch of the senam period.

43. *Ferjana, Senam No. 8* (Fig. 50). This senam is situated half a mile east of Senam el-Nejm. There are the remains of a rectangular enclosure, with the usual lines of squared stone. On the north-west front there has been another wall slightly advanced. There are here two imperfect senams facing north-west and south-east; and in front of them two altars, both partly buried in the ground: the westernmost of which has the dish-like excavations for olive oil manufacture. There is also a stone of the Semana type, and 40 feet S.W. of this a third altar.¹

VALLEY OF KSEIA OR WADI KSEIA.

This district lies south-west of Jebel Msid and north-east of Ferjana, from which it is approached through Shaahbet el-Kheil, Wadi Daun, and Kurmet el-Hatheia. About the middle of the valley on its northern side on a slight eminence is

44. *Senam el-Gharabah* (Frontispiece). This is a very fine trilithonic senam of very simple type, being composed only of monolithic jambs

¹ It is worth while noting that a footstone of one of the senams has also the dish-like cavities hollowed on it, which *must* have been done since the senam came down.

and capstone. The senam faces north and south, and the jambs are rather more carefully dressed on the latter side than on the former. Each jamb is composed of a magnificent stone just over 11 feet in height. The left-hand one looking from the south is 17 inches wide and 21 inches from front to back. The right-hand one 19 inches wide and 21 inches from front to back. The capstone is about 20 inches deep from top to bottom.

The total height of the monument is therefore close on 13 feet. The space between the jambs is 18 inches.

There are two lateral holes in each jamb, the lowest 3 feet above ground, and the next 2 feet above. They are cut through in the right-hand jamb. Higher up there is one angle-cut hole in each jamb on the south front. There are also through holes from front to back cut half out of the senam jambs and half out of the capstone.

The most interesting feature on this senam is the sculpture on the south face of the left-hand jamb close to the top (Fig. 42). It represents a monstrous form of animal with elongated body, slightly raised head, and short tail. Two short legs are plainly discernible about the centre of the body, and there are some indications of legs nearer the head. The animal's *testes* are also shown.

This figure is cut with the head facing down the shaft as if descending. Though without any

artistic feeling the subject is boldly cut in relief, and there is every appearance of its being coeval with the senam itself. The form is no doubt meant to represent the same obscene animal as that on the panel at Maagel, and should also be carefully compared with the subjects of the Zuguseh sculptures. This example is, however, of paramount interest as being cut actually on the senam itself.¹

Rude scratchings of doubtful date are found on the jambs, and on the south and east are the ruins of a rectangular enclosure.

45. *Henshir el-Mohammed* (Figs. 51 and 83). This site, which is of large size, is situated on the slope at the foot of Jebel Msid, at the eastern end of the Kscia.

There are in all the remains of eight senams, six of which—A, B, B, B, B, and C—mark the boundaries of the enclosure, and the other two—E, E—stand as outliers some distance north.

The only complete senam (A) faces north-west and south-east, and consists of two monolithic uprights, 8 feet 7 inches high, on which are placed large blocks facing north. The capstone rests on these, and above that is another stone about half its size, possibly the only relic of superincumbent masonry.

The left-hand jamb (looking from the south-

¹ Barth, the traveller, visited this monument and a figure of it is in his *African travels*, 1857, Vol. I., p. 74. He describes the sculpture as that of a dog or some other animal.

east) is only 1 foot wide, but 22 inches from front to back. The right-hand jamb is 20 inches wide, and 18 inches from front to back. The space between the jambs is 23 inches.

The lateral holes are two on each side, the lowest being 4 feet from the ground. Those in the left-hand jamb are perforated through. At 18 inches higher is an angle-cut hole in the right-

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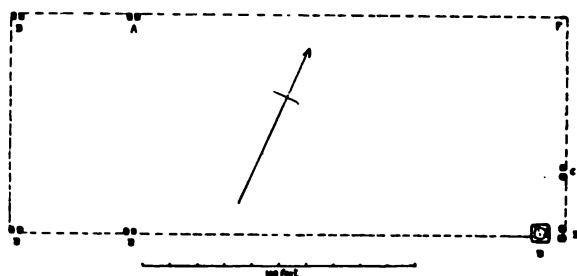


FIG. 83.—HENSHIR EL-MOHAMMED (KSEIA).

hand jamb only, which, combined with the rather narrow dimensions of the left-hand jamb, suggests that the latter may be an ancient restoration. There are further, angle-cut holes where the capstone meets the blocks below, in each case being partly cut in two stones, as in the back of the Aref senam.

The total height of this senam must be 14 feet.

As in other cases, rude scratched designs are found on this gate.

The senams B, B, B are all more or less destroyed. Of that at c one monolithic jamb remains, and is remarkable, having only angle-cut holes in it, like the standing senam at Ferjana No. 1. The corner holes are four in number, only $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart from centre to centre.

At D is an altar stone with a circular groove.

In the interior of the enclosure are found the usual square columnar blocks subdividing it into compartments.¹ The corner at F bears traces of Roman alterations.

46. 200 yards north-west of the last are more ruins.

47. *Febel Msid.* Half a mile north-west of Henshir el-Mohammed, on a hillside at the base of Msid, are many ruins with one broken senam.

48. *Febel Msid.* Lying 100 yards north-west of the last, nearer the hilltop, is a square building, or rather a heap of ruins, perhaps 10 to 12 feet deep, from the top of which on the west side project the upper parts of the jambs and the capstones of two poor and slender senams. They are a few feet apart, one in front of the other, and face west. A great deal of the masonry of the building appears Roman, so that here two senams complete were incorporated in a Roman edifice.

¹ Barth visited this site. He mentions only six pair of trilithons (*sic*) and his measurements do not tally with mine.

49. *Senam Bu-Mateereh* (Figs. 30 and 85). This site is situated due south from Senam el-Gharabah, on the opposite side of the valley. It consists of the usual rectangular enclosure, one complete senam and one fallen one. The site is placed rather more under a hill than is usual.

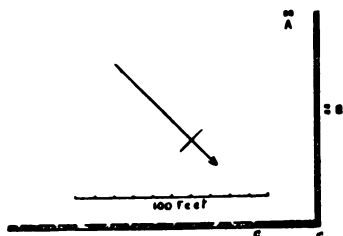


FIG. 84.—SENAM BU-MATEEREH (KSEIA).

The standing senam (A) is in the west corner of the enclosure, and itself faces north-east and south-west. It consists of two fine monolithic jambs, each about $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, on the top of which is a capstone, on which again rest two square blocks side by side. The total height is about 15 feet, but, as is often the case, the footstone on which it stands is underground.

The left-hand jamb, looking from the north-east, is 21 inches wide, and 25 inches from front to back. The right-hand jamb is 23 inches wide, and 21 inches from front to back. The space between these jambs is 17 inches.

There are two lateral holes in each, the lower pair being 3 feet from the ground, the other pair 2 feet above. Those in the left-hand jamb are perforated through.

Three feet above the upper pair are two angle-cut holes, one on each side on the north-east side. The capstone is cut to fit the tops of the monolithic jambs. In its upper edge on the north-east side are two square holes cut in the angle. (Compare Ferjana No. 1 and El-Nejm.)

The blocks on the capstone are square blocks of equal size.



FIG. 85.—SENAM BU-MATHEREH (KSEIA).

The stones of this senam are very well dressed. Rude scratchings are to be seen on the north-east side.

The enclosure wall is very well preserved from c to c. It consists of fine ashlar masonry, of large blocks.

Other ruins and a broken senam shaft were observed on leaving this site, at no great distance west.

ANCIENT SITES IN WADI DAUN AND THE ADJACENT
VALLEYS OF KURMET EL-HATHEIA AND SHAAHBET
EL-KHEIL.

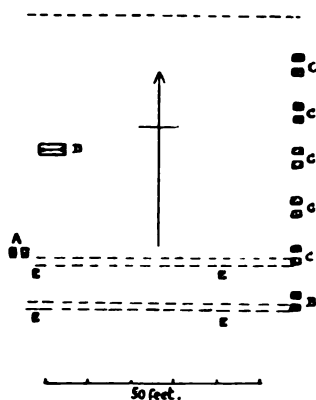
These, which are principally Roman, are of considerable interest. The narrow valley last mentioned, together with the upper or narrow part of Wadi Daun, are both crossed at frequent intervals (often only about 150 yards apart) with strong walls, often supported by heavy buttresses. It is evident these have been used in some way for damming the water. Besides these there is in the broad part of Daun, near the upper end, the Roman castle mentioned by Barth. It is very ruinous, situated on a commanding hill on the left bank of the stream. Below, the valley, which is about one-third of a mile wide, has many traces of ancient occupation, such as wells, Roman capitals and columns, and foundations of buildings.

50. *Wadi Daun*. In the narrow upper end of this wadi, where it rises on to the plain towards Kasr Zuguseh, the writer observed several ill-preserved enclosures, and a capital of the type first observed at Senam Aref.

51. *Wadi Daun*. Distant about half a mile from the above to the right, coming from Kasr Daun, a site was observed with the glass. The remains consist of an enclosure and two senams, neither with the capstone remaining. Circumstances prevented the writer from visiting this site.

SENAMS IN WESTERN TARHUNA.

52. *Senam el-Megagerah* (Fig. 29). This interesting site lies at the base of the Western Tarhuna range, where they join the Gharian chain. It is, however, on the Tarhuna plateau, and lies 7 or 8 hours (camel pace) west-south-west of Kom es-Las.



G. 86.—SENAM EL-MEGAGERAH.

The disposition of the remains is shown in the plan. Of the senam A the monolithic up-rights 9 feet in height are standing. Of senam B one upright about the same height remains. c, c, c, c, c are the sites of five senams all ruined, which with B all stood in a line north and south. At D within the enclosure is a stone of the Semana type, and another is found about 23 paces north of the line of senams. Lines of square columnar stones are found at E, E.

A short distance west is a small oval of rough stones, probably a merábut, or tomb of an Arab sheikh.

53. About one and a half hours from the above, on the road towards the pass which lies between Ras el-Aswad and Jebel Jumma on the road to Gharian, is a square mound of ruins, measuring about 50 paces by 30 paces, surrounded by a ditch measuring about 15 paces from the base of the mound to the outer edge of the ditch. On the north-west side of the mound are the jambs of a senam (not very high) with the best dressed side facing north-east.

54. One hour further in the same direction, about a quarter of a mile distant from the road to the right, are two jambs of another senam under a hill.

55. *Wadi Wif*. This valley is about 6 hours' camel pace from Megagerah in the Western Tarhuna hills on the Gharian road. Here in a large heap of ruins of no special plan is a poor senam, which with the capstone stands 6 feet 4 inches high. The senam is on the east side of the valley.

SITES VISITED IN 1896.

JAFARA DISTRICT NEAR THE FUM TERR'GURT.

56. *Senam el-Fajej* (Fig. 87). This site is situated about a mile north of the Fum Wadi Terr'gurt, on the sloping plain outside the hills,



FIG. 87.—SENAM EL-FAJEJ.

which is said to belong to the Jafara district. The enclosure has been about 65 by 48 paces, and there are the remains of five senams, one on the south, three on the west, and one on the east. All are in a poor condition. That on the south is placed at right angles to the enclosure, and those on the west face towards it. The most southern of these three has two jambs

standing, and the right-hand jamb looking from within the enclosure is about 7 feet 6 inches high, and has through lateral holes. The left-hand jamb is shorter. The middle senam is similar, but the left-hand jamb has the through holes. The northern of the three is very ruinous. On the opposite side, the senam has only one jamb remaining, of the same pattern; and within the enclosure on this side, and facing the three senams, is a line of cemented rubble masonry and a stone of the *Semana* type. This measures 3 feet 7 inches by 2 feet 5 inches, top measurement, and is 2 feet 2 inches deep. At the north-east corner is a part of a channelled stone, perhaps part of an altar.¹

Senam Sidi Hamed, north-north-east from here, perhaps 2 miles.

Senam Kharush, north-east from Fajej, perhaps 3 miles.

57. *Senam Semana* (Figs. 21 and 48). This is a most remarkable site, situated 20 minutes' ride east of Fajej, and also about a mile from the mouth of Terr'gurt. Here on an eminence there have once stood, in a line nearly north and south, from 16 to 20 senams, of which a jamb or jambs of some 6 are still standing, and the

¹In this description I have described as north what I have marked in my field book as south, as I believe, from what I can remember, that the point I put was for the south, although in inking in afterwards I have marked it north.

fallen jambs or footing-stones of the others can still be seen. Taking these senams from the south, No. 1 is fallen, No. 2 partly destroyed, No. 3 has two jambs erect, No. 4 one jamb, No. 5 both jambs, No. 6 is fallen, No. 7 has both jambs erect, No. 8 one jamb, Nos. 9 and 10 fallen, Nos. 11 to 14 fallen.



FIG. 88.—SENAM SEMANA (TERR'GURT).

Although thus ruinous, and all without caps, the senams can be seen to have been very fine. The jambs are all massive, being most about 20 inches square, and most 8 or 9 feet in height.

Three massive altars are still to be seen on the east side of senams Nos. 12 to 14 two paces distant, and a Semana stone in front of the altar of the last. I believe that there are under the turf altars to the remaining senams.

NOU

There are two lateral holes in each jamb of each senam, varying, but not alternating regularly as to which side they are throughs.

Five paces in rear of the line of senams is a line of columns, and five paces again in rear of this a second line. About opposite the senam No. 5 in both lines there are two columns finished

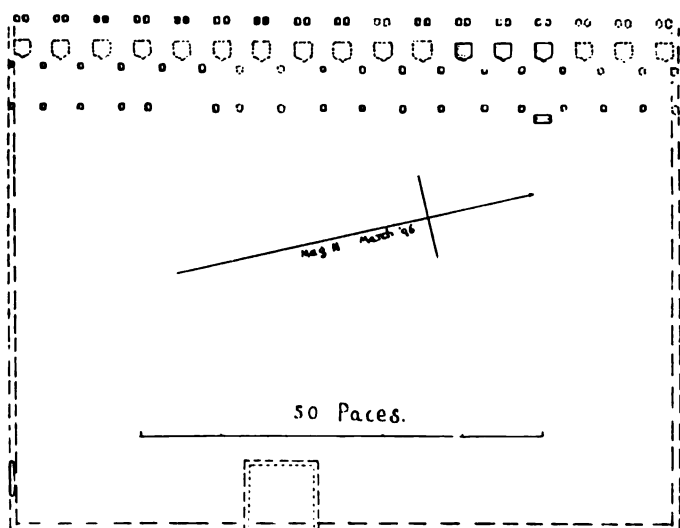


FIG. 89.—SENAM SEMANA (TEKK'GURT), PARTLY RESTORED.

with the curious capitals first seen at Aref in Wadi Doga. These columns are about 20 inches wide by 23 inches deep (each varying slightly), and the two in the inner line 8 feet high without the capitals. One of these columns is of two stones, the others of three stones, and they are bedded with mortar or cement.

The remaining columns in these lines vary in height, but some are about 6 feet. One at the north end of the inner line is of four stones, but has no capital.

To the east there seems to have been an enclosure about 64 paces wide, and about the centre of the east side a small inner enclosure about 9 paces square.

It would appear that the columns with capitals must have supported a sort of portico or sanctuary in front of the senams. It is hardly probable that all the columns had capitals, for if so they would now be lying about in numbers.

This senam presents even now a very imposing appearance, and when all the senams were complete must have been very striking.

WADI TERR'GURT.

38. *Henshir (or Mehal) Sidi el-Meadi* (Fig. 90). This site is about an hour's ride from the last, but up the wadi and on its right bank, occupying a sort of small promontory formed by the junction of a small wadi with the Terr'gurt.

The place is perhaps of exceptional interest, but it is situated close to two merábuts or tombs of holy men, and the fanaticism and suspicion of the people in the vicinity is such that I was compelled to leave after taking a few very brief notes, and before I could take any photographs. Consequently any future travellers must exercise great caution in approaching this site.

The peculiarity of the site is the way in which senams, and columns apparently of the senam builders, are built in or associated with walls of masonry and doorways. The plan given, which under the circumstances must be excused for its roughness, will, however, serve to show what are the main features.

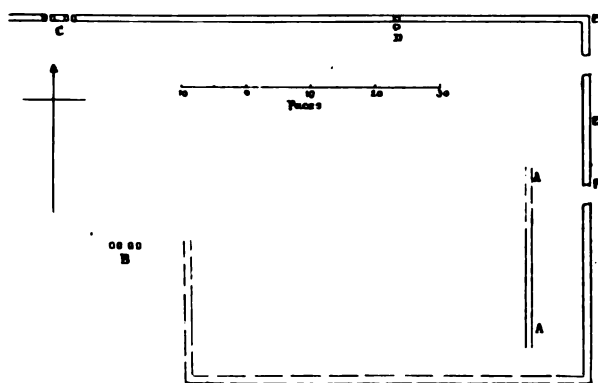


FIG. 90.—HENSHIR EL-MEADI (TERRA GURT).

First, as to the senams. Of these the remains of five were noticed, situated at B, C, and D. The two at B face north, and one is purposely blocked with masonry. The two at C are ruinous, and face south. That at D faces east, and looks rather like a restoration.

The most interesting features are the lines of walling on the east side. This side measures 57 paces, and at 6 paces from the north end we come to an entrance in the wall 3 paces wide, with one of the senam type of capitals on the north side. At 26 paces we get to another

entrance, also 3 paces wide, which, however, has been arched, and the spring stone of the arch remains on the north side.

The masonry on this side stands in places to a considerable height: at E, E 12 feet, and F 15 feet. At some places the stone work is rusticated, that is, has the edges trimmed off at a lower level than the centre; but otherwise, even near the arched entrance, it is not unlike what I have been inclined to consider masonry of the senam builders.

The site is now planted inside with corn, and is also overgrown with stunted shrubs, so that even with leisure it is rather difficult to examine. Within the east wall is a second, the position of which is shown by A, A. This is of very curious construction, being formed of square columns set close together, some with the senam capitals on them, and the whole filled up solid with rough masonry.

The way this place appears to have been altered, senams blocked with masonry, and others perhaps rebuilt, and also the fashion in which the wall has been constructed apparently out of the short columns so generally found at senam sites, leaves, I think, little doubt, that here the Romans utilized a senam and perhaps turned it into a small fort. The situation is favourable to the supposition.

There is a site nearly opposite on the left bank of Wadi Terr'gurt.

59. *Senam in Terr'gurt (Senam Terr'gurt)* (Fig. 52). Situated on the left bank of the wadi, and on the slope of a sort of headland. It is about 100 feet above the wadi bed, and close to my camp of March 4th.

There is here a square enclosure, perhaps with a double wall, and measuring about 32 paces on the north side.

We get here a very good example of senam altar and Semana stone, all *in situ*. The senam faces east, and is complete. It consists of jambs, three capstones on each, and lintel. The jambs are about 20 in. square, and there are two lateral holes on either side, those on south side throughs. The space between the jambs is $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the footing-stone is exposed. The first capstone on each side projects west, and in the middle capstones are corner-cut holes. The lintel has holes cut in the top edge. The total height is $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The altar is $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet away, and is 6 feet square, with a groove $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet square. It stands 18 inches above ground. To the south of it stands a small cemented rubble enclosure.

The Semana stone is 16 feet from the altar, and measures 6 feet by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It is set square to the altar, and appears to be *in situ*.

There are besides numerous ruinous wall foundations, traces of several senams, and at least one other altar and Semana stone.

SITES IN WADI GUMAN.

60. *Senam Atershan Müsbah Būkhalif* (Fig. 91). This site is close to the junction of the Wadis Guman and Terr'gurt, and is a few hundred



FIG. 91.—SENAM ATERSHAN MÜSBAB BŪKHALIF.

yards from the last, on its west bank. This is a very ruinous site, measuring about 55 paces square, with ruins of several senams, only one of which is standing, and several altars. There is a good deal of standing masonry on the south-

east side, and apparently an entrance in the centre, with capitals (Fig. 32).

The standing senam is on the north-west side, and consists of three stones on each side and a lintel, but it is in poor condition.

Other ruins near Wadi Guman. Between the last and Ras el Guman a small fort or castle and another senam were observed on the west bank of Guman, but a little distance from the water-course. Other badly preserved sites are on the east bank.

61. *Ras el-Guman.* A senam site in poor condition is at the base of this hill on the north side and on the east side of the wadi. There are several senams, all destroyed, but in front of one can be seen an altar and Semana stone in their proper position, as at Terr'gurt and elsewhere.

62. *Guman.* At the head of the wadi, near where it comes out on the plain, is a Roman dam and other ruins seemingly of the same period.

TARHUNA PLATEAU.

63. *Ras el-Benaieh.* This site is about 40 minutes' south-east of Jamah Sheikh el-Madeni (bearing 285 from it). It is a huge mass of ruins with a ditch round it, and has numerous traces of Roman work mixed up with broken senams.

64. *Sheikh el-Madeni*. This is a Romanized senam site as described by Von Bary. Holes were dug here round the front of an altar and senam footing-stone. Nothing was found but potsherds, and two or three earthenware objects, conical at both ends, all of which seemed Roman. Close by was another altar covered with cement, and a tank-like excavation by it measuring about 9 by 5 feet.

WADI TARGELAT.—GHIRRAH DISTRICT.

65. The first site visited was near a well, and may be called Senam el-Bir mta Ghirrah (Fig. 92). It is on a stony eminence on the left bank.

The chief feature here are two senams on the south-west side of the enclosure. Of these only one is complete. Its jambs respectively measure 22 by 16 inches and 24 by 14 inches. That on the right looking from outside the enclosure is a monolith, and about 10 feet high. The other jamb has one intermediate stone between it and the lintel, and this projects to the south-west. There are two holes 8 inches square, and one corner-cut hole on either side. Between the jambs the width is 18 inches, and the total height is nearly 11 feet. The other senam is broken, but between the two is a square monolith 5 feet high, and across the enclosure in a line from this is a row of columns, the fourth being composed of four stones. On the

opposite side of the enclosure there has been another senam. One jamb of one of the senams here shows the slight incisions at the angle which were observed at Shuaud in Doga. I believe these to be quarry wedge marks.



FIG. 92.—SENAM EL-BIR (GHIRRAH).

A curious feature here is to be found in the dot markings which I have suggested were for Arab games, but here are cut on the under side of the lintel.

66. *Senam el-Hazem*. This bears from the last 154°, and is a sharp ride of 20 minutes distant. It is on the same side of the wadi. This site, like many others, is in bad condition, but there are ruins of several senams. Two stand opposite each other, and the peculiarity of one is that it has four large corner-cut holes, but no lateral ones. Only the jambs are standing. At this site some one has been digging round the altar, and has laid bare a line of stones apparently enclosing it.

From here another site unvisited bears 83°.

67. *Senam el-Ruani*. This senam lies about a quarter of an hour west of the Wadi Targelat, and close to a valley which is sometimes called Ghirrah el-Kebir, and is probably a branch of Targelat. The enclosure here seems to have been 57 by 27 paces, and is much ruined. There is only one standing senam, of which the monolithic jambs are about 8 feet high, and on one of them is still a capstone projecting outwards. The lintel has gone. This senam shows the quarry wedge marks(?) and has an altar before it. A large block of masonry exists on the east side with some curious graffiti. And one of the stones bears a curious sculpture in relief, which should be compared with those at Zuguseh, el-Gharabah, and Maagel (Fig. 42).

68. *Senam Bu-Samida* (Fig. 31). This is on high ground on the east side of Targelat, and

nearly opposite the last. It is only about five minutes' walk from the middle of the wadi.

There is here a curious rough senam within the west wall of the enclosure and at right angles



FIG. 93.—MASONRY AT SENAM BI-KUANI (GHIRRAH).

to it. It consists of jambs with three superincumbent stones on each, and over these a lintel. The first stone on each projects east and west, but the second stone on the east side projects south, which its *vis-à-vis* does not.

There are lateral holes in the lowest or jamb stones, and two corner-cut holes in each of the third stones from the ground on the north side. There are also two small holes in the lintel on this side. The width between the jambs is 17 inches, and the total height about 12 feet. Against one of the jambs is a mass of masonry of five courses, exactly like that at Senam el-Nejm. This is dressed on the south side. There are the ruinous remains of several other senams and stones with the dot markings.



FIG. 94.—SENAM AT MAMURAH (W. TARGELAT).

69. *A Senam near Mamurah* (Fig. 94). At the point where the Mamurah district commences in Targelat there is a senam on the left bank. There are two pair of jambs facing south. All are about 7 feet high, and one jamb of each

is leaning. In one senam there are three lateral holes, and in the other two lateral holes and one corner-cut hole. There is one other fallen senam.

FERJANA DISTRICT.

70. *Senam No. 9.* This site is about forty minutes in a north-east direction from the last. There is nothing here worthy of notice except some graffiti.

71. *Senam No. 10,* bearing from last 184° , and apparently a quarter of an hour's ride distant. Looks rather important. Unvisited.

Senam No. 11, bearing from No. 9 351° . Nothing is to be seen here except two senam jambs. Another site, but with no senam standing, was passed half-way from No. 9. About forty minutes in a north-easterly direction brings you to Senam el-Nejm.

M'SALATA.

73. *Wadi Ueni.* On the road from Jebel Msid to Khoms, and about ten minutes west of the watercourse, is to be seen a small square castle of poor masonry, and situated on an eminence. There are traces of other ancient sites in the vicinity.

74. *Senam el-Khab.* This is about three hours' camel pace (*c.* 8 miles) from Khoms, a little off the M'salata road to the south. It is a single trilithon, 11 feet high, with the lintel on, and

footstone exposed. It measures 16 inches between the jambs (Fig. 33).

Senam el-Suedan can be seen from here to the east. It appears to consist of two jambs without lintel.



FIG. 95.—HENSHIR EL-NAIMEH.

75. *Henshir el-Naimeh* (Fig. 95). About two hours' camel pace from Khoms, and to the left of the road. Here is a large square building of big blocks badly fitted together, with a senam

built into the west corner, and a large Semana stone on the south. It is probably a Roman fort.

76. Close to here a senam was noticed about a quarter of a mile distant to right. Senams in an absolutely ruinous condition are numerous in this district. There is one close to a Roman tomb, between Lebda and Mergub; and a single jamb is to be seen on the sea-shore close to Lebda itself.

Although it must be evident to the reader that to make a complete list of the senams would amount almost to an impossibility, I subjoin the names of the following, which I have only heard of, as they show that the series extends further than the limits of the country travelled through.

Bir el-War. A senam is known to exist considerably south of Wadi Wif, at a place of this name. The Wadi Bir el-War is passed after leaving Wadi Wif for Gharian, but my informant said that the senam was a long way distant from this point.¹

Dr. Barth mentions that some Arabs near Gharian told him of a tower-like ruin lying south-east called Beluwár, evidently Bir el-War. On his map, however, "Sanem Bir el-Ar" is marked about 8 miles south-west of Jebel Jumma.

¹ Far away to the west beyond Zuagha, close to the coast, I find on the map of Tripoli (compiled by the Intelligence division of the War Office) the words "Oglet Senem," which indicates perhaps that the senam builders were by no means confined to Tarhuna, Gharian, and M'salata.

SITES VISITED BY DR. HENRY BARTH, PH.D., D.C.L.¹

Hanshir Settára. This place is about five miles south of Kasr Gharian, and therefore a good deal west of any visited by the present writer. Dr. Barth found the remains of buildings and two "immense slabs, above ten feet long and regularly hewn, standing upright." These are probably the jambs of a senam.

Jebel Msid, in Western Tarhuna (rather south of Jebel Jumma). On the slope of this hill he found "large pillars similar to those . . . in the ruins of Henshir Settára." He describes these as "succeeding each other at regular distances up the slope."

Plain of el-Keb, called in his map el-Kem or Lekem, about ten miles north-east of Jebel Msid. Here he found a trilithon on a base 3 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, 2 feet 10 inches in width. Jambs measuring 2 feet on each side, 1 foot $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches apart, and 10 feet high. Holes, three lateral, those in the east jamb throughs. Lowest hole 1 foot 8 inches above ground, the other two at distances of 1 foot $\frac{1}{2}$ inch above; each 6 inches square. The pillars somewhat leaning. Capstone 6 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. There is also an altar, which his engraving shows to be identical in character with those mentioned in the fore-

¹ See *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, by Henry Barth, Ph.D., D.C.L., 1857, Vol. I., pp. 47, 56, 57, 64, 70-74, 79.

going list. It is partly out of the ground, and 1 foot 2 inches high. The channel, $4\frac{8}{10}$ inches broad, is square. A stone, which he describes as looking like a solid stone throne, appears from the picture to be a stone of the Semana type set on end. Fergusson has likened the altar to a Hindu "yoni." Barth describes, but not in detail, other ruins in the vicinity.

This site is close to Senam el-Megagerah, but does not appear to be identical with any of those visited by the present writer in this neighbourhood. Close to this place, on the plain called Dahar Tarhuna, near the tents of the Megagerah tribe, he mentions the jambs of another senam standing in rubbish.

Kasr Doga. The trilithon he calls a cromlech, but does not describe it. He also mentions a specimen of large pilasters, with an impost (probably a senam) between Kasr Doga and Ain Shershara.

Sidi Ali ben Salah (chapel of). In the ruins of a castle near here are "a few bad but curious sculptures, among others an ass in relief." Other ruins, but no senams.

Wadi Gedaera, leading into Wadi Dawan (Daun), "three broad and firmly-constructed dykes crossing the ravine at the distance of about 800 yards from each other." These are evidently part of the series of Roman dams noticed by the present writer.

Kasr Dawan. See Kasr Daun.

Ksaea (Kseia). Barth visited Senam el-Gharabah, of which an engraving (not remarkable for its accuracy) accompanies his description. The sculpture he took for a "dog, or some other animal." He does not mention the name of this site. "About 700 yards beyond the torrent called Ksaea we had on our right a large building of hewn stone, about 140 yards square, with six pairs of trilithons." This must be Henshir el-Mohammed, but the description is singular.¹

Kusabat. Between here and the coast at Kaam (Kam) (about twelve miles south-east of Lebda) he found ruins of immense blocks, and among them what appears from his description to have been an altar and stones of the Semana type. Further on he came to the "ruins of a temple of large proportions called Sanem (Senam) ben Hamedan, and of rather curious arrangement, the front, which faces the north, and recedes several feet from the side walls, being formed by double ranges of enormous stones standing upright . . . while the inner part is ornamented with columns of the Ionic order." Dimensions, 40 paces by 36 paces. This is evidently a Romanized site. A thousand yards further on he found a monument called Kasr Kerker, with a curious sculptured stone, of which there is a figure in his work. The subject appears to be a centaur combating

¹ "Six pairs of trilithons." Does this mean twelve senams, or six pair of jambs?

a serpent, and a figure akin to one of the markings on Senam el-Gharabah, which probably is the symbol of Tanith.

SITES VISITED BY VON BARY.¹

Kasr Doga. (No. 11 in preceding list.)

Bou Sellem. A quarter of an hour south of a camp (*i.e.* Arab tents) of that name. Remains of three senams in a row, east and west. Dot-marked stones, guttered stones like those found by Barth at Elkeb (altars?). The remains covering space of about 30 paces square, and on the top of a hill.

North from this site was a hill bearing cemented chambers, a guttered stone (altar?), and a ruined senam. Many dot-marked stones.

These sites appear from Von Bary's account to be on the Tarhuna Plateau, either close to Kasr Doga or in the vicinity of the Senams el-M'aesara and el-Ragud (13 and 14 in the list).

Ras el-Aid (Ras el-Id, No. 17 in the list).

Scheik el-Madeni (Sheikh el-Madeni). This site Von Bary calls some hundreds of paces from Ras el-Aid. Here he found *traces* of three pairs of pillars, and within the mosque many ancient columns, and a variety of dressed stones. There

¹ "Senams et Tumuli de la chaîne de Montagnes de la Côte Tripolitaine." Par le Dr. Edwin Von Bary. Vol. II., *Revue d'Ethnographie*, Paris, 1883, p. 426. Translated from the German *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Leipzig, Bd. VIII., 378-385.

were also many dot-marked stones and cemented chambers. (See No. 64.)

Ber el-Menshi. Here he noticed two troughs made of senam pillars. (See Senam el-Bir, No. 33.)

Henshir el-Arka 'tal Abanat. A quarter of an hour north of Bir el-Menshi. The jambs of a senam, with angle-cut holes only. There appeared originally to have been here three senams in a row.

Fifteen paces away there were three other senams in ruins. Traces of a rectangular stone wall, the longest side being 17 feet: alongside the ruins of a court of equal size. Close by on the north-west two small ruins, with fallen senam jambs.

The writer's description of the above site is not sufficiently exact to identify it with any of those examined. It is probably one of the many sites in the vicinity of Senam el-Bir (No. 33 in the list).

Hanshir el-Sud. This, which he does not describe, is probably identical with Kom el-Saud (No. 29 in the list).

Senam om el-Sudenat (Um el-Yuluthenat, No. 19 in the list). He describes three pair of pillars facing each other.

Kom es-las (No. 20 in list). This he describes at some length. See note to the description of Kom es-Las in the list.

SECTION VII.

ON THE FUTURE OF TRIPOLI.

TAKING into account the series of acute crises through which the Ottoman Empire has during the last years been passing, a few paragraphs on the subject of the possible destiny of the African Pashalics may perhaps be found excusable in concluding this volume.

In the first place it must be remarked that, unlike Armenia, Crete, or Macedonia, we have never heard of a Tripoli question in modern days; and taking into consideration the great area of the two divisions of Tripoli, and Barka (or Benghazi), the central position they occupy on the great inland sea, and their juxtaposition to countries held at the present day by the two greatest European Powers, this may appear at first sight somewhat strange. The fact is, however, that in the range of nineteenth century politics there has never been, for England, a Tripoli question; and it would appear that the two Powers, who will in all probability sooner

or later find occasion to show their teeth over the bone, have found it their wisest course to let sleeping dogs lie, and to bide their time until events should arise dictating some course of action, or forcing some declaration of their policy.

The island of Crete, upon the fate of which the eyes of Europe have so recently been turned, lies right opposite the Barka coast, forming, as it were, the connecting link between the Asian and African possessions of the Porte; although nowadays the intercourse, commercial or otherwise, between that island and the Tripoli coast is, thanks to the lack of Ottoman enterprise, of but small importance. Yet the contiguity of these possessions is sufficient, in view of recent events in Crete, to raise the question of what is eventually to become of Tripoli when sufficient excuse arises, or untoward events take place, to lead to that dismemberment of the unfortunate Empire which has for so long seemed inevitable.

Yet, though there is no Tripoli question for Great Britain, there is for Italy and France; and on the day on which it comes to the front it will be for England to watch carefully the course of events, because, although there may be two or more ways by which such a question could be set at rest, there is at least one in which it would at any rate be neither politic nor prudent on the part of our nation to acquiesce, in the same lame way that she did when, almost without

a shadow of excuse, the neighbouring Beylic of Tunis was absorbed into the power of France. Our lack of action on that occasion was, in the opinion of many, neither chivalrous nor spirited, even if prudent, and it is difficult to believe that England could afford to stand by, in case it appeared that any further aggrandisement should be contemplated by France on the southern side of the Mediterranean.

As things are at present, they may on the surface appear fairly tranquil; but in some ways the case is that of a house with a cellar stored with combustibles, which at any moment a spark might ignite. England, as has been said, could hardly afford to look on silent if at any time, or for any reason, the French fezzes should cross the western frontier of Tripoli. She must consider not only that, by such an act, France would gain almost the whole of the southern coast of the Mediterranean, but that, Tripoli once occupied by our Gallic neighbours, she would find herself face to face with them at the boundary between Egypt and Barka, a position at any rate decidedly strained, considering the opinions felt and so freely expressed in France at our occupation of the Nile valley. Tripoli at the present day stands, it may be said, in some ways as a sort of buffer state between Tunis and Egypt. It would be our policy, if prudent, to endeavour that, should it cease to be a Turkish nonentity, it must pass at least into the occupation of a

Power whose interests do not clash so materially with ours as those of France.

The case of Italy rests on a totally different basis, for she has constantly and consistently maintained that she should be represented on the Barbary coast; and there is indeed quite a copious Italian literature on the subject. Historically, her claim to Tripoli is almost as good as that of Greece to Crete; but racially, there is at the present day but little connection. When Tunisia, the ancient Roman Africa Propria, was engulfed by France, Italy could only gaze helplessly on, but nevertheless the wound was deep: without external aid she could not contest with France the ownership of the very territory which the short swords of her ancestors had wrested from the Carthaginians twenty centuries ago.

The questions then are: if Tripoli must pass into the hands of a Christian Power, to which would it be of most use, and which has the best claim? To those who know Tripoli at the present day, it would seem but a barren inheritance at the best. Waterless, treeless, except for its waving palms and olives on the coast, nearly tradeless, and it may almost be said harbourless, it lies, rather a desert than a country,—a buffer state of sand as it were,—between fertile Tunisia and fecund Egypt. It is indeed true that Barka differs somewhat from Tripoli proper, and the shores of the greater Syrtis, for it possesses a tract of exceptionally rich and fertile country;

yet that tract is very limited in area, and the country, taken as a whole, seems about as unpromising a field for European enterprise as could be picked out on the world's map.

But though the face of the country offers so poor a field for colonization, there are other questions which are more important. Tripoli is one of the old gates from which the wealth of Africa was poured into the lap of Europe. Here centred the trade routes from Bornu, Lake Chad, Wadai, Tibesti, Timbuktu, Darfur, in fact from all the fertile country of the Sudan, to all of which it was indeed the nearest Mediterranean outlet. But of late years much of this traffic has from various causes been diverted into other channels. First by French enterprise in Tunisia—for the exports and imports of that state are now about quadruple those of Tripoli; then by the closing of the Bornu route owing to the presence of Rabah, in consequence of which caravans are obliged to pass further west to Benghazi instead of to the capital; and Darfur remains closed by Mahdism. Besides this, a further decline in trade may be expected from the opening up of Nigeria and the West African coast, which must lead to the export in that direction of produce for the European market which in the old days made its way by camel caravan to the Mediterranean.¹

¹ When the writer was in Tripoli in 1896, one Haji Arfan Turki arrived there from the interior, the first trader, it was said, who had managed to get through from the territory in

Nevertheless the chief value of Tripoli will probably always be in its position as the focus of certain lines of traffic; but whether, in the near future, the rapid development of Africa in other parts will not lead to such a permanent diminution even in this way as to result in rendering trade of comparatively small value, is a matter for consideration, and one difficult of forecast. Whether a line of railway could ever be constructed across a desert, the sand of which shifts and alters with every puff of wind, and which is also occupied by the bold and fanatical Tuariks, will have to be duly weighed by both engineers and politicians before we can really tell what possibilities there are for the development of trade in this part of the African coast.

What a country like Italy, with its empty coffers, could make out of such a possession it is not easy to see. The warlike ancestors of her people held indeed the land, and the Roman ruins, found standing still far away in the desert, serve to show how boldly civilization could, even in those days, be carried into the most barbarous and unpromising territories. But Rome was rich and powerful, and, as has been pointed out in the power of Rabah. The Haji had been for two years in the power of that adventurer, and returned penniless. Fifty-two Tripoli merchants, he said, had perished by disease or the sword; and he gave some strange accounts of the rule of Rabah, among whose followers were said to be many cannibals, though Rabah himself preached Islam and propagated Mahdism.

this volume, there is much evidence that climatic conditions were at that date very different, and all the modern Barbary states, if not the desert itself, vastly more fertile than at the present day.

For Great Britain, then, Tripoli as a possession would be practically worthless; but to Italy, if well managed, the coast trade might be of some value, if indeed that country would content herself with holding the coast line and its adjacent fertile tracts, and abandon, at any rate for a time, all idea of a military occupation of the whole interior, including Fezzan. With France it is somewhat different. The frontier Turkish town of Ghadames lies dangerously near the Algerian Sahara, and where the French sphere of influence begins or ends who can tell. After the lesson of Tunis, it is not difficult to imagine that very little excuse would be found necessary to cross the line and occupy that town, and then it might almost be said the oases of Murzuk and Ghat would be in sight, the possession of which would secure most effectually to our Gallic friends the monopoly of the entire overland trade from the Sudan to the Mediterranean.

Yet again, in another way, Tripoli is a bait for the French. That nation has long aimed, as we well know, at making herself the chief power in Mediterranean seas. The occupation of Tunis, and the opening of the port of Bizerta, have immensely strengthened her position, and if, as she thinks and hopes, on the day when the

final scramble for Turkey shall take place, Syria will fall to her share, the additional possession of any of the ports of Tripoli, poor though they be, could not fail to improve her position at the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

Of all the Barbary states there now remain but two—Tripoli and Morocco—beneath Muslim rule. They are the last survivors, so to speak, of that great militant faith which, a thousand years ago, swelled and crashed like a storm tide against the barriers of Christianity in the Mediterranean countries. That faith, excellent in many ways, had in it the seeds of self-destruction; its power, though irresistible for a time, lacked lasting qualities, and though capable for a certain period of great things, productive in its way of high civilization and not ill-adapted for the fostering of science and literature, has long since shown its inherent weakness by the way in which it fell asunder, and now droops corrupt like the bloom of a forced flower.

Whether, however, at the downfall of Turkey, the integrity of Tripoli as a Mohammedan state could be maintained, is, though doubtful, worthy of consideration. There is, perhaps, as much to be said for as against such a scheme. In the first place, there is in the country no large Christian population as in Asia Minor, whose interests require protection; and in the capital itself the Maltese and Jews have not nowadays

much to complain of, nor, considering the propinquity of Malta and Tunis, is there indeed much to fear on this score. In point of fact Tripoli is, for an Oriental state, moderately well governed, and her people are fairly satisfied. Trade may indeed be bad, and money may be scarce, but the climate is genial, the sun shines, and the good folks are content to dream life away, heedless of the anxieties of nineteenth century civilization. Why should they be disturbed? From a sentimental point of view, Tripoli with its quaint Turkish town and picturesque streets, is infinitely to be preferred to the bastard cities of Cairo, Beirut, or Tunis, whose boulevards, villas, and gambling saloons jostle and elbow the sleepy suks and markets, and where personally conducted tours excite the derision of the children, or grog-sodden adventurers degrade our faith in the eyes of the dignified white-robed Moors.

But sentiment in modern politics is not in fashion, and we must return to the more practical side of the question, although there is not much more to be said. Turkey holds Tripoli with a fairly strong hand, and though Ottoman rule is not of course popular among the tribes of the interior, who, if asked, will say the government is weak and bad, they are nevertheless still under Muslim government, and their knowledge of the propinquity of the hated "Roumi," both in Egypt and the west, would rally at any rate a large

section of them round the crescent banner of Stambul, were the country invaded by a Christian power.

Should, however, the Turkish empire be utterly broken up, and Constantinople fall into the hands of one of the great Powers, there is no doubt that some asylum would have to be found where the Commander of the Faithful could be established as the nominal head of Islam in the west; and as all Christendom now seems to seek the complete abasement of this historic faith, the advocates of such a scheme would look for that asylum either in one of the less important Levantine states, or else further east where the principles and methods of east and west would clash less directly. It has, indeed, been suggested that the Grand Signor and all his belongings should be deported, bag and baggage, to Tripoli, where, with the English and French watch-dogs facing him on east and west, he would not only be powerless for harm, but might even be found useful as forming a *cul-de-sac* against French aggrandisement in North Africa. If such a scheme were practical, Tripoli might remain picturesque and charming for the wandering Bohemian, who, like the writer, loves better to haunt the alleys of an eastern bazaar than the broad piazzas and glaring boulevards of western civilization. But to forecast the future of Turkey is beyond the skill of all who have not second sight. From Stambul to Tripoli the Porte may

possibly one day fall, but hardly yet. The precipice is too sheer, and there are other claimants for the honour. Bagdad, round which still lingers the tradition of the long faded glories of the Caliphate, might perhaps better serve the purpose, and there Islam could be as effectually harnessed by the Anglo-Indian influence dominant in the Persian Gulf. To Bagdad, in many ways, such a change could not be for the worse. Those who, like the writer, know what that city is like to-day, will acknowledge that it has fallen to perhaps as low a pitch of degradation as any other city in the world whose history in the Middle Ages was one of equal splendour; so that its re-establishment as the capital of a Mohammedan state, even though it be that of Turkey bedraggled and curtailed, could not fail to benefit it in some ways.

There thus appear to be three possible destinies for the subject of this chapter; but into which current it will be tossed, when at last the Ottoman galley founders and the wreckage is driven hither and thither by the tide of events, the writer must acknowledge his inability to forecast. Possibly—perhaps probably—some compromise may be found by which the claims of France and Italy could both be satisfied, and Great Britain look on without loss of prestige. With the former holding the coast of Tripoli proper, and the latter that of Benghazi, while the interior is left either entirely to itself or nominally Turkish, not much

harm would be done. But "Inshallah," may the day be far distant.

In concluding this chapter the writer would humbly crave forgiveness from the patient reader, whom he has thus led on, and at last has placed before him no definite conclusion to his theme; yet perhaps the most deeply versed student in Mediterranean politics might be excused for hesitating to prophecy with any confidence on such a difficult question. All that the writer asks is that his reader will now take down his atlas, adjust his spectacles, and, having studied the situation himself, see if he can come to any definite conclusion. And if, through the darkening clouds which have gathered round the Ottoman throne, he can discern any rift whereby his gaze can be directed into the future lying beyond, he may well consider himself a wise man, certainly wiser far than he who now pens these words.

APPENDIX I.

A LIST OF WORKS OF ESPECIAL INTEREST RELATING TO THIS PART OF TRIPOLI.

BARTH, DR. HEINRICH: Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, 1848-1855. 1857. 8 Volumes.

The early chapters of Vol. I. relate to his travels in the hill range. This work is a translation from the German. See also his work, "Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeeres," Berlin, 1849, which unfortunately has never been translated.

BORSARI, FERDINANDO: Geografia, Etnologica e Storica della Tripolitania, Cirenaica e Fezzan, 1888.

This Italian work is a compilation, but of the most scientific sort, and a perfect mine of information.

BEECHEY, CAPT. F. W. and H. W.: Proceedings of the Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa from Tripoli Eastward, 1821-1822. 1828.

This may be said to be the standard work on the Tripoli and Cyrene coast.

SMYTH, REAR-ADMIRAL H.: The Mediterranean—A Memoir. 1854.

The appendix contains the Admiral's account of his explorations and other observations on this part of the coast.

TULLY: Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence in Tripoli. 1817.

This work, written by the sister-in-law of Consul Tully, is interesting from the account of the political troubles under the Karamanli Pashas; and for the insight it gives into the life of the Tripoli court.

DELLA CELLA, PAOLO: Narrative of an Expedition from Tripoli, in Barbary, to Egypt. 1822.

Translated from the Italian. The Author's account of the coast is interesting, but not especially accurate.

RAE, EDWARD: The Country of the Moors. 1877.

Contains an account of the town of Tripoli and of Leptis.

LYON, CAPTAIN G. F.: A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa, 1818-19-20. 1821.

Chapters I., II., and IX. contain remarks on this part of the coast.

VON BARY, DR. EDWIN: Die Senan oder Megalitschen Denkmaler in Tripolis. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Leipzig, Bd. viii. 378-385. Translated into French in the Revue d'Ethnographie, Paris, 1883. T., II. pp. 426-437.

Referred to elsewhere. Contains some account of the senams.

RUSSELL, REV. MICHAEL: History and Present Condition of the Barbary States. Edinburgh, 1835.

A useful compilation, but not altogether reliable. On page 88 a description of Leptis Magna from Beechey is quoted in full as referring to Carthage. The chapters on Tripoli are entirely compiled from previous authors.

THOMPSON, GEORGE E.: Life in Tripoli. 1894.

The text of this little work is quite superficial; but the numerous photographic illustrations of scenes in and about the capital are excellent.

LEO AFRICANUS: The History and Description of Africa and of the notable things therein contained, written by Al Hassan ibn Mohammed Al Wezaz Al Fasi . . . better

known as *Leo Africanus*. Done into English, 1600, by John Pory, and edited by Dr. Robert Brown for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1896. 3 Vols.

LEO AFRICANUS: *De Totius Africae Descriptione*. 1556. The English translation is called "A Particular Treatise of all the Maine Lands and Islands," by John Leo. London, 1600.

CELLARIUS, CHRISTOPHORUS: *Notitiæ orbis Antiqui, sive Geographiæ plenoris Tomus alter Asiam et Africam antiquam exponens*, Vol. II., Lib. IV., cap. III. *De Regione Syrtica*.

BLAQUIERE, EDWARD: *Letters from the Mediterranean*. 1813. Vol. II.

ALI BEY EL ABBASI: *Voyages en Afrique et en Asie pendant les Années, 1803-1807*. Vol. I., chap. XXII., relates to Tripoli.

RENNEL, MAJOR JAMES: *The Geographical System of Herodotus examined and explained, etc.* 1800.

Sec. XXIII. Concerning the two Syrtes. Map ix. The Coast and Country of Libya.

FRESNEL, F.: *Inscriptions trilingues trouvées en May, 1846, à Lebda (Leptis Magna)*, *Journ. Asiat.* 4th Series, Vol. VIII., p. 349.

HEBENSTREIT, J. E., Professor of the University of Leipzig: *De Antiquitatibus romanis per Africam repertis*. Leipzig, 1733.

MANNERT, KONRAD: *Géographie Ancienne des Etats barbaresques*. 1843.

HERODOTUS.

PLINY.

STRABO.

SALLUST.

LUCAN.

PTOLEMY.

SILIUS ITALICUS, etc.

APPENDIX II.

ANEROID READINGS.

1895.

March 21.	Tripoli, - - - - -	30
	Camp at Argub Tajura, - - -	29'90
22.	" " - - -	29'85
	1.40 P.M. on road, - - -	29'65
	Camp, - - -	29'40
23.	Senam Aref, - - -	29'30
	Shaahbet el-Shuaud, - - -	29'15
	Jebel Arva, - - -	28'25
	Kasr Doga, - - -	28'55
24.	" - - -	28'75
	Camp near Ras el-Id, - - -	28'85
25.	" " - - -	28'70
26.	Camp Kasr Zuguseh, - - -	28'55
27.	" " - - -	28'60
	Camp Kseia, - - -	29'20
	Top of Jebel Msid, - - -	28'55
28.	Camp near Kom es-Las, - - -	28'75
29.	On road, 2.30, - - -	28'90
	At base of W. Tarhuna hills, - - -	28'85
	Camp, base of Jebel Jumma, - - -	28'65
30.	Between J. Jumma and Ras el-Aswad, -	28'40
	Camp, Wadi Wif, - - -	28'40
31.	Camp at Wadi el-Ghan, - - -	28'40

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1895.							
April	1.	Second Camp in Wadi el-Ghan,	-	-	-	-	29'10
	2.	On road at sunrise,	-	-	-	-	29'40
		8.30 on plain,	-	-	-	-	29'55
		Camp,	-	-	-	-	29'85
	3.	Tripoli,	-	-	-	-	30
1896.							
March	2.	Tripoli,	-	-	-	-	30'15
		Camp, Bir el-Tuteh,	-	-	-	-	29'90
	3.	" "	-	-	-	-	29'85
		Neshieh,	-	-	-	-	29'85
		12.30 on road,	-	-	-	-	29'65
		Camp,	-	-	-	-	29'60
	4.	" "	-	-	-	-	29'70
		In Wadi Terr'gurt, near Mehal el-Meadi,					29'70
		Camp,	-	-	-	-	29'50
	5.	" "	-	-	-	-	29'50
		At base of Ras el-Guman,	-	-	-	-	29'20
		On top of pass,	-	-	-	-	28'60
		Camp in Menshi,	-	-	-	-	28'80
	6.	" "	-	-	-	-	28'90
		Camp in Ghirrah,	-	-	-	-	29'15
	7.	" "	-	-	-	-	29'25
		Henshir el-Mohammed Kseia,	-	-	-	-	29'45
		Camp in Wadi Ueni,	-	-	-	-	29'50
	8.	" "	-	-	-	-	29'50
		11.45 on road to Khoms,	-	-	-	-	29'55
		Khoms,	-	-	-	-	30'20

THERMOMETER READINGS.

1895.		A.M.	P.M.	
March 21.	-	-	...	7.30 - - 54
22.	-	-	7	... - - 54
			Max. during night,	- - - 59
			Min. ,,	- - - 42
			...	6 - - 72
			...	7.30 - - 62
23.	-	-	6.45	... - - 60
			...	8.30 - - 54
24.	-	-	7.30	... - - 52
			Max. in night,	- - - 54
			Min. ,,	- - - 48
			...	7.15 - - 50
25.	-	-	6	... - - 38
			Max. in night,	- - - 55
			Min. ,,	- - - 34
26.	-	-	7	... - - 56
			Max. in night,	- - - 56
			Min. ,,	- - - 50
			...	8 - - 56
27.	-	-	7	... - - 48
			...	7.30 - - 52
28.	-	-	6.40	... - - 52
			Max. in night,	- - - 61
			Min. ,,	- - - 38
			...	7.30 - - 55
29.	-	-	...	Min. in night, - - - 41
			...	8 - - 62
30.	-	-	...	Max. in night, - - - 68
			Min. ,,	- - - 60
			...	3.30 - - 88
			...	8 - - 74
31.	-	-	6	... - - 70
			...	2.30 - - 100
			...	7.30 - - 79

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1895.		A.M.		P.M.		
April	1.	-	7	...	-	70
			...	8.45	-	66
	2.	-	5.45	...	-	48
			...	10.15	-	57
	3.	-	5.30	...	-	54
			Max. in night,	-	-	62
			Min. „	-	-	48
1896.						
March	2.	-	...	8	-	56
	3.	-	6.30	...	-	55
	4.	-	6	...	-	47
			...	8.30	-	50
	5.	-	6.15	...	-	47
			...	7	-	50
	6.	-	Min. in night,	-	-	39
			...	9	-	49
	7.	-	Min. in night,	-	-	39
			6.15	...	-	42
			...	8	-	52
	8.	-	6.15	...	-	43

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